DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 066 720 CS 000 131

AUTHOR	Figurel, J. Allen, Ed.
TITLE	Better Reading in Urban Schools.
INSTITUTION	International Reading Association, Newark, Del.
PUB DATE	72
NOTE	85p.
AVAILABLE FROM	International Reading Association, Six Tyre Avenue, Newark, Delaware 19711 ($3.00 non-member, $2.00 member)
EDRS PRICE	MF-$0.65 HC-$3.29
DESCRIPTORS	Disadvantaged Youth; Elementary Grades; Initial Teaching Alphabet; Language Skills; Oral Reading; *Reading; *Reading Development; *Reading Improvement; *Reading Instruction; Reading Skills; *Urban Schools

ABSTRACT

The papers included this volume focus upon the reading problems faced by the child living in urban America. The scope of the papers encompasses such basic issues as "Social Variation in Language: Implications for Teaching Reading to Black Ghetto Children" and "The Training of Reading Teachers for the Disadvantaged." Other articles in this volume are: "The Effect of Training in the Cognitive Uses of Language Deficit of Disadvantaged Kindergarten Children," "Expanding Language Power of Young Black Children: A Literature Approach," "Reading Skills of Afros and Mexican-American Students," "i. t. a. as a Tool for Preventing Cumulative Language Deficit in Disadvantaged Children," "Influence of Nonstandard Dialect on Oral Reading Behavior of Fourth Grade Black Children under Two Stimuli Conditions," and "Implications of Some Current Issues and Practices for the Reading Teacher." (Author/WR)

ED 066720

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION
THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL OFFICE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

BETTER READING IN URBAN SCHOOLS

J. Allen Figurel, *Editor* Indiana University Northwest

FILMED FROM BEST AVAILABLE COPY

INTERNATIONAL READING ASSOCIATION
Six Tyre Avenue Newark, Delaware 19711

CS 000 181

INTERNATIONAL READING ASSOCIATION

OFFICERS

1972-1973

PRESIDENT

WILLIAM K. DURR, Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan

PRESIDENT-ELECT

MILLARD H. BLACK, Los Angeles Unified School District, Los Angeles, California

PAST PRESIDENT

THEODORE L. HARRIS, University of Puget Sound, Tacoma, Washington

DIRECTORS

Term expiring Spring 1973

MARJORIE S. JOHNSON, Temple University, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
ROBERT KARLIN, Queens College, City University of New York, Flushing, New York
OLIVE S. NILES, State Department of Education, Hartford, Connecticut

Term expiring Spring 1974

WILLIAM ELLER, State University of New York, Buffalo, New York
WILLIAM J. IVERSON, Stanford University, Stanford, California
EUNICE SHAED NEWTON, Howard University, Washington, D.C.

Term expiring Spring 1975

HAROLD L. HERBER, Syracuse University, Syracuse, New York
HELEN K. SMITH, University of Miami, Coral Gables, Florida
GRACE S. WALBY, Child Guidance Clinic of Greater Winnipeg, Winnipeg, Manitoba

Executive Secretary-Treasurer

RALPH C. STAIGER, University of Delaware, Newark, Delaware

Assistant Executive Secretary

RONALD W. MITCHELL, International Reading Association, Newark, Delaware

Publications Coordinator

FAYE R. BRANCA, International Reading Association, Newark, Delaware

Copyright 1972 by the
International Reading Association, Inc.

Library of Congress Card Catalog Number: 72-83649

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS COPYRIGHTED MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY International Reading Association TO ERIC AND ORGANIZATIONS OPERATING UNDER AGREEMENTS WITH THE U.S. OFFICE OF EDUCATION. FURTHER REPRODUCTION OUTSIDE THE ERIC SYSTEM REQUIRES PERMISSION OF THE COPYRIGHT OWNER."

CONTENTS

Donald L. Cleland	v	Foreword
J. Allen Figurel	vii	Introduction
Norma T. Bernstein	1	The Effect of Training in the Cognitive Uses of Language Deficit of Disadvantaged Kindergarten Children
Dorothy S. Strickland	9	Expanding Language Power of Young Black Children: A Literature Approach
Johanna S. DeStefano	18	Social Variation in Language: Implications for Teaching Reading to Black Ghetto Children
Richard D. Arnold	25	Reading Skills of Afro- and Mexican-American Students
Eleanor R. Kirkland and Frank Bautista	34	i.t.a. as a Tool for Preventing Cumulative Language Deficit in Disadvantaged Children
Carl L. Rosen and Wilbur S. Ames	45	Influence of Nonstandard Dialect on Oral Reading Behavior of Fourth Grade Black Children under Two Stimuli Conditions
Edith H. Grotberg	56	Implications of Some Current Issues and Practices for the Reading Teacher
Joseph B. Tremonti	72	The Training of Reading Teachers for the Disadvantaged

The International Reading Association attempts, through its publications, to provide a forum for a wide spectrum of opinion on reading. This policy permits divergent viewpoints without assuming the endorsement of the Association.

FOREWORD

Many problems in the teaching of reading have been plaguing teachers for years. Certainly not the least of which is providing meaningful reading/learning experiences for these children not in the mainstream, as it were, of middle-class America. In many instances, instruction has been given taking little account of the experiential background and the repertoire of language skills and patterns of some of the minority groups.

The program committee which planned the Seventeenth Annual Convention, cognizant of the most significant objective of IRA—namely, "To promote the development among all peoples of a level of reading proficiency that is commensurate with each individual's unique capacity"—scheduled a series of meetings in which well-known scholars explored ways and means by which reading instruction could be more relevant for segments of our school population who have been short changed in many reading/learning activities.

The papers selected by J. Allen Figurel to be included in this volume focus upon the reading problems faced by the child living in urban America. The compass of the papers included in ***Better Reading in Urban Schools*** range the gamut from "Social Variation in Language: Implications for Teaching Reading to Black Ghetto Children" to a very basic and challenging issue, "The Training of Reading Teachers for the Disadvantaged." Other timely and challenging articles will be found in this volume.

Few would question the postulate that the ultimate read-

ing goal for the urban child is the same as that for other children. Short term goals, for obvious reasons, may be realized through the employment of different approaches and methodology. Of necessity, therefore, different instructional materials containing language patterns that are consonant with the repertoire of language skills that the child brings to the formal classroom is a desideration in any effective reading/learning environment.

This volume is a welcome addition to a list of outstanding publications of IRA. The reader's attention is directed to two volumes: ***Reading Goals for the Disadvantaged*** also edited by Dr. Figurel, and ***Reading for the Disadvantaged*** edited by Thomas D. Horn.

A special accolade goes to J. Allen Figurel, not only for his skill in editing but also for his long and faithful service to IRA. Through his editorial skill, his profound knowledge of reading and the language arts, and his keen insight into the learning and reading problems faced by all students, he has for many years abstracted from masses of data that which is relevant to problems faced by the reading teacher. Identifying strategies which teachers may use, he has removed many obstacles from the reading road, thereby providing for teacher and student alike a clearer vista of the goals looming in the distance as well as those of immediate importance.

Your thoughtful reading of the papers contained herein is invited; the experience will be both rewarding and challenging.

Donald L. Cleland ***President***
International Reading Association
1970-1971

INTRODUCTION

Crises never cease in urban schools. The crises in reading surely never cease; in fact they are accentuated from year to year as myriads of poor children move to urban centers. Deterioration also takes place among some families. These two factors increase the number of disadvantaged children in our large cities. In 1960, one out of three children in such marginal areas was classified as disadvantaged. Today, one out of two is so classified. By 1975, two out of three will belong to this class. It seems that a backward treadmill begins in the schools and this accelerates the number of reading problems. It seems that the longer children stay in school the further behind they are. All sorts of schemes are being devised to help bring children up to grade level. In some schools, the teaching of reading is being commercialized; governmental agencies encourage other schemes. All of these have failed to bring about satisfactory improvement. Reading problems can be overcome only by effective teachers. Every promising path to improvement in reading demands an understanding of the reading process and the reader. Teachers need the understanding of what constitutes effective reading. Answers to such problems can come only through effective research. As teachers learn to use research as a basis for their varied practices, changes can be brought about. This monograph, though limited in scope, has some answers for reading teachers. It is hoped that teachers who read these articles will glean from them worthwhile practices.

J.A.F.

Norma T. Bernstein
California State College
at Long Beach

THE EFFECT OF TRAINING IN THE COGNITIVE USES OF LANGUAGE DEFICIT OF DISADVANTAGED KINDERGARTEN CHILDREN

A study reported by Bernstein (*3*) upheld the hypothesis that improvement in language and activation of language habits already mastered by the child would aid him in double classification tasks (*4*). That investigation established that providing instruction in the cognitive uses of language to "advantaged" kindergarten children unsuccessful in problems of double classification enhanced performance in classificatory tasks, regardless of sex.

One of the recommendations arising from this investigation was that the hypothesis be tested with a population of children from "disadvantaged" backgrounds. It was felt that while having well-developed language systems for communicating with one another, these children often lack skill in the use of language for cognitive purposes (*1*). Research has indicated that verbal and reasoning abilities are major factors in academic success. Therefore, the disadvantaged child is most deficient in the most critical areas.

The purpose of this investigation was to determine the effect of intervention in the form of training in the cognitive uses of language on the acquisition of double classification concepts by kindergarten children for whom standard English is, in effect, a second language. Such information should have implications in the current concern in planning language experiences for these children in early childhood programs.

METHOD

Selection of Sample and Procedure

Children selected for this study included 30 black kindergarten children whose natural speech involved the use of nonstandard English in an almost totally black school in the Los Angeles area and 30 kindergarten children whose primary language was Spanish in a mixed Spanish-Anglo school a few miles away. Only those who failed the pretest were included in the experiment proper and were assigned at random to training or no-training groups.

At the end of the training program, tests were repeated and pre- and post-test scores were used to compute difference scores which were subjected to a factorial analysis of variance to assess the effect of the training.

Description of the Measuring Instrument

The instrument developed by Bruner-Kenney (*4*) and refined by Bernstein (*3*) was adopted for the present study. (Bernstein reported a reliability coefficient of .89 in a test-retest study.)

The instrument consists of a set of nine cylinders arranged on a 3 X 3 matrix. They are laid out before the child in a matrix pattern organized by height and diameter. Children are asked to replace, rebuild, and transpose the matrix, in addition to verbalizing between and within group criteria.

The first two tasks (replacement and reproduction) are considered preparatory to performance on the transposition task. Since the transposition task is the critical part of the problem of double classification, the criterion of success or failure in classification is performance on the final task.

Two points are allotted for each correct row or column in the transposition task: that is, correct sequential arrangement on the basis of diameter and height. Half credit is also allotted for grouping by one of the two dimensions. Scores may range from zero to twelve. By providing for a continuum of scores, it is possible to note the child's progress in classifying by one or two dimensions.

Language scores are based on evaluation of descriptive terms used by the child. Dimensional or specific language

(fat, skinny, tall) warrants three points; global language (big, little), two points; and confounding language (combining global and specific language), one point. Nonverbalization is scored as zero.

TRAINING PROGRAM

The training program consisted of six 20-minute lessons, presented in small groups of four to five children, directed at teaching an understanding of the vocabulary involved in the double classification tasks through manipulative and other first-hand experiences. Relationships and associations with other vocabulary were stressed. Practice was provided in the use of language to explain, describe, compare, analyze, and hypothesize.

Each lesson was planned to introduce and/or review one or more of several skills. Children were taught to respond to increasingly more specific directions, i.e., to make increasingly finer discriminations. Subjects were also expected to progress from observation of increased specificity to verbalization of same. They were encouraged to understand what is expected when requested to differentiate on the basis of similarity or difference. Again, they were expected to progress from recognition of examples to verbalization of principles.

Children were exposed to situations demonstrating that objects can have simultaneous membership in multiple groups on the basis of multiple characteristics; again, children were expected to progress from recognition to verbalization. Principles of correspondence, intersection of classes, and abstracting the criteria of classification from preformed groups were also stressed, both on the recognition and verbalization levels. Attention was directed to the process of seriation and to independent learning through such techniques as taking the teacher's role and judging the appropriateness of responses of others in the group.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

After the training program was completed, post-tests were administered. Means, standard deviations, difference scores, and means of difference scores were computed for the

classification task and the child's descriptive language. All data are reported on the basis of the 25 black and 27 Spanish-American children remaining at the end of the study as indicated in Table 1.

TABLE 1
Number of Subjects in Training and Control Groups At Conclusion of Research

		Black		Spanish-American		
		Training	Control	Training	Control	Total (sex)
Boys		7	7	9	6	29
Girls		6	5	6	6	23
Total	(training or control)	13	12	15	12	
		Total (Ethnic) 25		Total (Ethnic) 27		

Table 2 summarizes the means of the difference scores.

TABLE 2
Means of Difference Scores

	Black		Spanish-American	
	Training	Control	Training	Control
Boys	(1.4286) *11.4286	(−.2857) *9.7143	(2.1111) *12.1111	(.6667) *10.6667
Girls	(.8333) *10.8333	(−.6000) *9.4000	(−.8333) *9.1667	(−.5000 *9.5000

*Difference score plus 10

A 2 x 2 x 2 factorial analysis of variance of difference scores on the classification task was performed with the .05 level considered significant in the evaluation of the *F* ratios. Table 3 summarizes the results.

Examination of the results of Table 3 indicates that no significant differences were obtained when this training program was applied to either black or Spanish-American boys or girls.

TABLE 3

Source Table for the Factorial Analysis of Variance of Difference Scores on Double Classification Task

Source	M.S.	d.f.	E Ratio	P
Total	5.658	51		
Between	7.262	7		
training	14.356	1	2.657	.106
Ethnic group	.006	1	.001	.972
Sex	19.952	1	3.693	.058
Training X Ethnic group	3.280	1	.607	.554
Training X Sex	3.351	1	.620	.559
Ethnic group X Sex	8.111	1	1.501	.225
Training X ethnic group X sex	1.778	1	.329	.576
Within	5.403	44		

TABLE 4

Source Table for the Factorial Analysis of Variance of Difference Scores on Language Task (Similarities)

Source	M.S.	d.f.	E Ratio	P
Total	0.852	51		
Between	1.462	7		
Training	1.261	1	1.671	.200
Ethnic group	.683	1	.905	.651
Sex	.683	1	.905	.651
Training X ethnic group	.130	1	.172	.683
Training X sex	7.465	1	9.889	.003
Ethnic group X sex	.002	1	.002	.963
Training X ethnic group X sex	.008	1	.010	.916
Within	.755	44		

TABLE 5

Source Table for the Factorial Analysis of Variance of Difference Scores on Language Task (Differences)

Source	M.S.	d.f.	E Ratio	P
Total	3.401	31		
Between	3.325	7		
Training	1.353	1	.396	.539
Ethnic group	.006	1	.002	.965
Sex	1.073	1	.314	.584
Training X Ethnic group	6.729	1	1.972	.164
Training X sex	.037	1	.011	.914
Ethnic group X sex	4.092	1	1.199	.279
Training X ethnic group X sex	9.984	1	2.926	.090
Within	3.413	44		

A 2 x 2 x 2 factorial analysis of variance of the language scores in describing differences and similarities was performed with the .05 level considered significant in the evaluation of the *F* ratios. Tables 4 and 5 summarize the results.

Examination of the results of these tables indicates that there were no significant differences in the language performance of black or Spanish-American boys or girls with one exception.

It appears that the ability to verbalize similarities was significantly higher for boys that were trained than for girls ($p<.003$).

Discussion

The difference between pre- and post-test scores on a double classification task was not significantly greater for those children trained in the cognitive uses of language than for those who were not trained. The difference between pre- and post-test scores on a double classification task was not significantly greater for either sex or either ethnic group as a function of training.

Thus, a training program, such as the one offered in this study, does not appear to aid the child in succeeding in double classification tasks. Several hypotheses and directions for future research are discussed in the following section.

The difference between pre- and post-test scores in specificity of language (differences) was not significantly greater for those children trained in the cognitive uses of language than for those who were not trained. The difference between pre- and post-test scores in specificity of language (differences) was not significantly greater for either sex or either ethnic group as a function of training.

The difference between pre- and post-test scores in specificity of language (similarities) was not significantly greater for those children trained in the cognitive uses of language than for those who were not trained. The difference between pre- and post-test scores in specificity of language (similarities) was not significantly greater for either ethnic group as a function of training.

However, there was a significant difference ($p<.003$) in the interaction between sex and training, in the difference

between pre- and post-test scores in specificity of language (similarities). Those boys trained in the cognitive uses of language scored significantly higher in specificity of language (similarities) than did boys who were not trained.

It was noted by the examiners that the increase in the use of specific language was more evident in the description of differences than in describing similarities. This factor may be partially explained by the findings of the author in a pilot study (*2*) that kindergarten children have greater difficulty in describing or noting similarities than they do in describing or noting differences. It may be that the noting of similarities requires finer discrimination processes than the noting of differences.

A sharp decrease in the use of global or confounded language was also noted by the examiners. It was also noted that those children who succeeded in the task used specific language exclusively. Thus, while the ability to use specific language does not guarantee success in double classification tasks, it appears that those able to succeed in this type of task have all attained a certain specificity of language.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The results of this study seem to indicate a basic difference between the effectiveness of training in the cognitive uses of language for advantaged and disadvantaged kindergarten children on double classification skills.

Although a prior study (*3*) reported significant improvement after training with middle-class Anglo children, the performance of both black children speaking nonstandard English and children whose primary language was Spanish (both of whom were unsuccessful in problems of double classification) was not significantly enhanced by this training program in the cognitive uses of language.

It may be that much of the language involved was already a part of the environment and background of the middle-class Anglo children which training succeeded in making more specific and available; whereas, the children in this study did not have a similar background to build upon.

Since many children improved to the point of using more specific language but not to the point of achieving success in

the classification task, several possibilities can be considered. It may be that the training program needs to be extended or revised to more directly meet the needs of these children. (Examiners suggested shorter time periods, more sessions, smaller groups, inclusion of physical activities, and relating the language taught to their own bodies.)

There is a possibility, also, of a developmental lag, which would place the children in this study considerably further away from the transition to the stage of concrete operations than the advantaged Anglo children. Thus, training might serve as a catalyst when, and only when, the child is on the brink of moving to the next stage—a point these children obviously had not reached (*5, 6*).

It is suggested that these hypotheses be tested in future research. It is also suggested that those responsible for planning early childhood programs ponder the implications of a situation in which children who cannot succeed after an optimal instructional program on an almost individualized basis, in a task at which their Anglo counterparts succeed, are doomed to failure in the many experiences in which the same demands or expectations are made of them as for their more advantaged peers.

References

1. Bereiter, Carl, and S. Engelmann. ***Teaching Disadvantaged Children in the Preschool.*** Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1966.
2. Bernstein, Norma. "The Effect of Training in the Cognitive Uses of Language on the Attainment and Retention of Double Classification Concepts by Kindergarten Children," unpublished doctoral dissertation, New York University, 1969.
3. Bernstein, Norma. "The Effect of Training in the Cognitive Uses of Language on the Attainment of Double Classification Concepts by Kindergarten Children," paper presented at American Educational Research Association annual meeting, Minneapolis, Minnesota, 1970.
4. Bruner, Jerome, and H. Kenney. "On Multiple Ordering," in Jerome Bruner (Ed.), ***Studies in Cognitive Growth.*** New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1966.
5. Flavell, John. ***The Developmental Psychology of Jean Piaget.*** Princeton, New Jersey: D. Van Nostrand, 1963.
6. Inhelder, Barbel, and Jean Piaget. ***The Early Growth of Logic in the Child.*** New York: Harper and Row, 1964.

Dorothy S. Strickland
Newark State College

EXPANDING LANGUAGE POWER OF YOUNG BLACK CHILDREN: A LITERATURE APPROACH

The "divergent speaker" is the term given by Goodman (*1*) to the child who speaks a dialect different from that which the school, text, or teacher treats as standard. Goodman puts forth the following hypothesis: "The more divergence there is between the dialect of the learner and the dialect of learning, the more difficult will be the task of learning to read." Language divergence or linguistic difference is currently being investigated by many linguists and educators as a causal factor in reading failure among black economically disadvantaged children. This development, coupled with the need for a preventative approach to reading failure among these children, led to a kindergarten program designed to expand the subjects' language repertoires to include the dialect in which they are taught to read and write. The program attempted to answer the question: Would a special literature program emphasizing related oral language activities affect the oral language expansion and reading readiness of linguistically different, black kindergarten children?

The theoretical framework for this study was based on the following concepts:

1. Oral language activity is the primary facet of language learning; reading and writing are secondary.
2. The acquisition of oral language is achieved largely through the imitation of models.
3. The child from a low socioeconomic background is

often handicapped by language models that are at great variance with the language necessary for success in school. The problems he encounters in attempting to learn standard English are very similar to those of an individual who is learning a new language.

4. Many opportunities for practice in English-as-a-second-language based listening and speaking activities through models provided at school should increase the oral language facility of the child with a linguistically different background.

5. Literature offers a diversity of models in various situations through which such activities can evolve.

6. The special program in children's literature should increase the ability of linguistically different, black kindergarten children to include standard English in their language repertoires.

PROCEDURES

One hundred twenty subjects were randomly selected from eight kindergarten classes located in the lower socio-economic areas of two metropolitan communities participating in the study. Due to attrition, the final number of subjects remaining at the end of the study was 94. Forty-five of these were in the experimental group, which had been exposed to a literature-based oral language program consisting of daily reading aloud from selected children's books followed by oral language activities such as creative dramatics, choral speaking, puppetry, and role-playing. Emphasis was placed on the imitation and repetition of language patterns as used in the teaching of English as a second language. All activities were designed to involve the children in active dialogue.

Each sample classroom was provided with 50 books which met the criteria for literary merit indicated by the endorsement of authoritative organizations in the field and additional criteria pertinent to this study. The four teachers involved in the study attended a series of workshops related to children's literature. The experimental teachers received additional training in the use of related oral language activities to effect language expansion. The experimental and con-

trol group teachers were provided with manuals containing suggestions for the type of activities they were expected to conduct.

In October and again in May, both the experimental and control groups were given the Education Study Center Bidialectal Task for Determining Language Proficiency in Economically Disadvantaged Negro Children. This procedure consists of having children repeat a number of tape recorded sentences after hearing them once. Each sentence was recorded in both standard English and nonstandard Negro dialect. Each child was tested individually, and his repetitions were tape recorded. The specific constructions tested were the following:

1. Standard structures; third person verb agreement, treatment of negation, if-did flip, possessive markers, plural markers, and first person verb agreement.
2. Nonstandard structures: absence of copula, possessive marker, third person verb agreement, treatment of negation, plural marker, if-did flip, use of be, and double subject.

A detailed record was made of the exact repetitions for all the standard and nonstandard sentences. The total number of correct repetitions was recorded separately for standard and nonstandard structures on appropriate tally sheets and became the raw scores for that subject.

The New York City Prereading Assessment was administered in May. This test consists of two parts: Language and Visual Discrimination.

RESULTS

The pretest mean scores presented in Table 1, Part A, are based on the raw scores of the experimental and control groups. A score of 19 was possible for standard structures and 20 for nonstandard structures. The mean score of 7.86 for the control group reflected a mean number of 1.57 more standard structures repeated correctly by that group than by the experimental group. Both groups showed a greater ability to repeat nonstandard structures correctly than standard ones during the pretest period, indicating a greater facility among all subjects with nonstandard dialect.

TABLE 1
Pretest and Post-test Data: Mean Scores on Bidialectal Task (N=94)

Part A
Pretest Data

	Standard Repetitions	Nonstandard Repetitions
Experimental	5.29	12.96
Control	7.86	12.53

Part B
Post-test Data

	Standard Repetitions		Nonstandard Repetitions	
	Unadjusted Means	Adjusted Means	Unadjusted Means	Adjusted Means
Experimental	10.20	11.63	11.67	11.63
Control	9.57	8.23	11.78	11.82

The post-test mean scores are presented in Table 1, Part B. While both groups improved in their abilities to repeat standard structures, the experimental group demonstrated greater growth. The post-test mean score of 10.20 showed an increase of 4.91 in the mean number of correct standard repetitions for the experimental group.

Table 2 presents the analysis of covariance source table for standard repetitions on the bidialectal task, using the pretest scores as the covariate. The analysis of covariance revealed a signficiant *F* ratio beyond the .01 level favoring the

TABLE 2
Analysis of Covariance Source Table for Experimental and Control Groups on the Bidialectal Task—Standard Repetitions

Source of Variation	Degrees of Freedom	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	*F*
Between Groups	1	228.80	228.80	48.37*
Within Groups	91	430.70	4.73	
Total	92	659.5		

*Significant beyond the .01 level.

experimental group. The results of the analysis confirm the hypothesis that subjects exposed to the literature-language program implemented in this study did expand their language repertoires to include standard English to a greater extent than subjects not exposed to the program.

Table 3 presents the analysis of covariance source table for nonstandard repetitions on the bidialectal task, using the pretest scores as the covariate. No significant difference was found between the two groups in ability to repeat nonstandard structures correctly. The combined results of the analysis of covariance on the standard scores, which showed a significant difference between the two groups, and the analysis of covariance on the nonstandard scores, which showed no significant difference between the groups, indicate that the language of linguistically different, black kindergarten children may be expanded to include standard English without negating their native dialects.

TABLE 3

Analysis of Covariance Source Table for Experimental and Control Groups on the Bidialectal Task—Nonstandard Repetitions

Source of Variation	Degrees of Freedom	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	*F*
Between Groups	1	36.10	36.10	3.37*
Within Groups	91	975.30	10.71	
Total	92	1011.40		

*Not significant.

Table 4 gives the mean scores for Parts 1 and 2 of the prereading assessment. The possible number of correct items is 32 for Part 1 and 28 for Part 2. The results of the analysis of variance for both parts revealed no significant difference between the two groups.

Part 1 of the prereading assessment measures language skills such as vocabulary, concepts, and listening comprehension. Since all of these skills were an integral part of the literature-based program which was similar in both experimental and control treatments, it is possible that the two

TABLE 4
Mean Scores on Prereading Assessment*
(N=94)

	Part 1 Language	Part 2 Visual Discrimination
Experimental	26.60	17.20
Control	25.47	15.45

*Based on raw scores.

groups benefited equally with respect to them. Part 2 of the prereading assessment measures the visual perception needed to discriminate between letters and words. Since neither the experimental nor the control treatment was designed to develop this skill, the results were as expected. A special program of literature and related oral language activities did not result in a higher level of reading readiness on the part of those children who were exposed to it, as opposed to a comparable group of children who were exposed to a literature-based program and non-oral activities.

DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

The literature-language program implemented in this research demonstrated a successful method of expanding the language repertoire of linguistically different, black kindergarten children to include standard English. The concept of language expansion—the broadening of one's language stock as opposed to language substitution, i.e., the subjugation of one dialect for another—was confirmed. This factor would imply that the language habits of very young children may be altered without the need to denigrate the native dialect by attempting to replace it. Any attempt to replace the child's native dialect with another may be construed by him to mean that the new dialect is considered superior.

The study has corroborated evidence that kindergarten children are at a propitious age for language growth. For, although the experimental group as a whole was initially less facile in its use of standard English, exposure to the program offered in this study allowed gains which exceeded those made by the control group.

The study offers evidence that common differences between standard English and the nonstandard Negro dialect which may cause interferences for the nonstandard speaker may be successfully identified and modified, consequently lessening the degree of interference. This conclusion implies that the classroom teacher may identify the specific interfering elements most prevalent in his group of students or in individuals and provide help based on the program developed in this study.

The formulation of a successful set of techniques for training teachers in the use of literature and methods of stimulating oral language among children is a valuable consequence of this research. Of additional value is the opportunity for the personnel involved to focus upon a problem which has generally been given little attention in the past. Discussions with the four participating teachers during the training sessions and throughout the duration of the study were open to other members of the staffs of each of the four schools. At least one first, second, and third grade teacher was included at all times. In some cases, principals and reading specialists also attended these meetings. These discussions revealed a long-standing desire on the part of the participants to deal with the distinct incongruity between the language which the child brings to school and that which he encounters as the language of instruction.

Approaching these incongruities as language differences rather than language deficits, while recognizing the need for extension toward the widely used dialect, was a new concept for these teachers. Continued discussions revealed a genuine desire on the part of both black and white teachers for an interchange of ideas concerning this often sensitive topic. Old ideas concerning the inherent superiority of one dialect over another were imperiled with the emergence of a greater appreciation for the fact that all children, no matter who they are, simply learn the language to which they are exposed. Ideas that hold the use of nonstandard dialect as synonymous with carelessness, laziness, and automatic cognitive liability were gradually eroded as teachers dealt, for the first time, with a problem that causes them considerable frustration and irritation. Indeed, it is a problem for which many teachers

expressed a feeling of total unpreparedness.

Thus, viewing the acquisition of standard English as a strictly utilitarian device to help equalize the child's chances for reaching his maximum potential in a society that is standard-English oriented is far different from the view that suggests that the nonstandard speaker utters an intrinsically inferior language of which he must rid himself at all costs and replace with another. Indeed, the primary goal of this study was to expand language. No attempt was made to diminish any aspect of it. A high regard for whatever language the child brings to school was a necessary component of the experimental treatment. Children were never asked to imitate the teachers's language but to use the language of storybook characters. This practice was intended to reduce possible conflict of allegiance between home and school and allowed the children to participate in the activities more freely. Many of the oral language activities were designed to foster language stimulation in general and not necessarily geared to increase facility in a particular standard English structure.

A further important contribution of this study is that it offers effective results without requiring expensive or complicated equipment. An ample supply of picture books, long considered an essential part of any kindergarten classroom, is the only material necessary. Both experienced and inexperienced teachers can successfully implement the program after a relatively brief period of training and follow-up demonstrations. Since the treatment is based upon the kinds of activities which are known to be desirable to children, problems of motivation and timidity are more easily overcome than they might be in a more rigid or routinized language program.

No significant difference was found between the two groups in readiness to read. This condition may be attributed to equal exposure of both groups to the specific factors measured by the prereading assessment. Part 1 of the prereading assessment measures vocabulary, concepts, listening comprehension, and reasoning ability. All of these factors were components of the literature-based program included in both the experimental and control treatments. Had there been a third group included in the study which received neither the literature-based program coupled with oral language activities nor

the literature-based program coupled with non-oral activities, a measure of the effect of the treatments upon the reading readiness factor in Part 1 of the prereading assessment may have resulted. Part 2 of the prereading assessment measures the visual perception needed to discriminate between letters and words. Since this factor was not dealt with in either the experimental or control treatments, the results of this analysis are what would be expected.

The study has successfully demonstrated the effect of a literature-language program on the language expansion of linguistically different, black kindergarten children. It offers a program which holds potential for extension to other grade levels and as a vehicle for the inservice training of teachers on the topic of dialect differences.

Reference

1. Goodman, Kenneth S. "Dialect Barriers to Reading Comprehension," ***Elementary English***, 42 (December 1965), 853-860.

Johanna S. DeStefano
The Ohio State University

SOCIAL VARIATION IN LANGUAGE: IMPLICATIONS FOR TEACHING READING TO BLACK GHETTO CHILDREN

THE PROBLEM

During the past decade, educators have been paying increased attention to the urgent reading problems of the ghetto black child. "Reports from city after city with substantial numbers of economically deprived black children have indicated that reading achievement is well below the national norms" (*1*). The urban black ghetto communities, including their adults, display more functional illiteracy than any other socio-economic or definable minority group in the United States who speaks English natively.

REGISTER: A USEFUL CONCEPT

Several suggestions as to probable causes for these reading problems have been made by linguists. Labov and Robins (*5*) suggest that cultural factors rather than language factors account for much of the failure by blacks to learn to read. The theme of cultural differences is being researched now. Other linguists and educators advance language factors as being major contributors to reading problems of black children. Whatever research reveals the relative weights of these factors to be, there is one sociolinguistic factor which must be taken into consideration.

This factor can perhaps be best explained by acknowledging that everyone speaks in different ways to different people. The teacher who says to her first graders, "Did you

children see the little daffydowndillys peeking up to see the sunshine?" would not dream of saying that to the principal or to her fellow teachers. She would probably say something like "Mr. Fussbudget, did you notice that the daffodils are above the ground?" Furthermore, it is entirely probable she would not even discuss such a topic with the principal.

> . . . most linguists will agree that a speaker of any language will make linguistic adjustments to specific social situations. These adjustments in phonology, grammar, and lexicon will range anywhere from the obvious adjustments between adults and small children to the more complicated sociolinguistic switching between school, home, and playground talk (*3*).

This variation in language from one social situation to another is known as register. Registers are distinguished from one another by form: phonology, syntax, and vocabulary.

How might "register" enter into ghetto black children's reading problems? Often these children speak at home and with their peers a social dialect of English called Black English or black ghetto vernacular. This vernacular has been described as being different in systematic ways from surrounding middle and upper class speech and contains various registers which reflect the different social uses of language within the ghetto. Consequently, the urban ghetto black child comes to school in command of various registers in the black ghetto vernacular. He knows how to talk one way at home with his parents and another way with his playmates. But he probably does not yet know how to talk to the teacher who uses various registers of classroom English and often expects the black child to use them as well. These classroom registers share many of the characteristics of middle and upper class English locally spoken.

Probably one of the most important classroom registers used by the teacher and expected of black vernacular-speaking children is what this author calls the language instruction register. This register is used by the teacher when she is giving some sort of language instruction, such as a reading or spelling lesson. Examples of the teacher's speech are, "There are three desks in a row. Spell ***desks***." or "Halloween is a time to wear masks. This is how ***masks*** is spelled." At other times, when she is not concentrating on language,

she probably says, "Move your ***dess*** around in a circle." or "Put your Halloween ***mass*** away." But since a black ghetto vernacular speaker usually says ***masez*** or ***desez***, already the phonology of his registers does not correspond to the phonology of the language instruction register. The black vernacular-speaking child also has syntactic forms in his registers which differ from those in the language instruction register. One example would be "I ain't got no pencil" in the vernacular registers, corresponding to "I don't have any pencil" in the language instruction register.

IMPLICATIONS OF REGISTER FOR TEACHING READING

What do these differences in registers mean for the reading teacher? The black vernacular-speaking child has to make correspondences between the forms he already controls, both receptively and productively, and the forms found in the primers as well as those used in reading instruction by the teacher. These differences in forms may be most crucial for beginning literacy instruction during which the child is supposed to learn how to "crack the code." However, given the continuing reading deficiencies faced by ghetto black children, teachers in the upper elementary grades also need information on whether black children have made the correspondences between the forms of the various registers.

The reading teacher also needs to be able to ascertain for a given black vernacular speaking child just how much of the language instruction register this child already controls receptively and productively. It is obviously a waste of time to work on making the child aware of equivalencies between his vernacular and the language instruction register forms if that child already has made the correspondences with forms in his vernacular. Unfortunately, many people assume that when a child says "I ain't got none" he uses a multiple negative 100 percent of the time and has not made the connection with a more standard form. Research indicates this assumption is not the case; only the perception is categorical, not the use. The black child may have certain language instruction register forms under control for the situations in which they are used but may discard these forms in other classroom situations.

The teacher needs to be aware of whether the child does show this differential usage. Second, the black vernacular speaking child may comprehend the language instruction register forms but not produce all of them. This receptive control is important in reading instruction because it forms the basis for comparison between the child's vernacular and those of teachers and books. But it is more difficult to demonstrate than productive control.

Practically speaking, if the teacher is aware that some children control most of the forms found in the language instruction register she uses, she can turn her attention to those children who need more help to make the correspondence between forms they control in the black ghetto vernacular and the forms used by the teacher in the language instruction register. Information on both individual usage and group patterns is important to the teacher to help her plan better her pedagogical strategies for the teaching of reading. The teacher who consciously helps her pupils gain control over the forms of the language instruction register is undoubtedly a more effective teacher than the one who is not aware of the kinds of differences between her speech and the black vernacular of her students.

CHILDREN'S ACQUISITION OF LIR

The basic question, then, is "How much of the language instruction register have black vernacular speaking children acquired when in school?" This was the question asked in a study (*2*) the author conducted with black children in Oakland, California. To help answer it, a sentence repetition task was devised which contained selected language instruction register forms having black ghetto vernacular semantic equivalents. One hundred and eighty black students, in grades one, three, and five, attending Oakland ghetto area schools, were asked to repeat each sentence immediately after they heard it. Although there are other ways of studying the acquisition of various registers, this specific task was chosen for several reasons. One was that repetition tasks are frequent pedagogical devices, especially in school testing situations. Another was that such a task sets a fairly formal speech context which hopefully will induce the child to "put his best lin-

guistic foot forward," in other words, to use as much of the language instruction register as he can. Also a sentence repetition task could be devised by teachers themselves and used as an individual diagnostic tool right in their classrooms to help ascertain the levels and patterns of the language instruction register acquired by black vernacular speaking children. Finally, a repetition task usually elicits the black vernacular semantic equivalent from the child if he does not make a language instruction register response. The response data give the teacher valuable information as to the specific forms the child does use and information about the fact that the child's responses are patterned and not haphazard. Also, if a child responds to the language instruction register form with the black vernacular semantic equivalent, it is assumed he comprehends the more standard form at least in some sense. Thus, a minimal comprehension check can be run very quickly by a teacher.

RESULTS OF THE STUDY

One of the major findings was that approximately two-thirds of all the responses made by the ghetto black children on the sentence repetition task were language instruction register responses. In other words, under formal language instruction conditions, black children in grades one, three, and five demonstrated productive control by making a majority of responses in the language instruction register forms. Even in first grade, 56 percent of the responses were made in the language instruction register forms. By fifth grade, slightly over 70 percent of the responses made to the sentence repetition task contained language instruction register forms such as "I don't have any" instead of the vernacular equivalent "I ain't got none." The data seem to indicate a steady increase in acquisition of certain forms within the language instruction register.

However, one must be careful not to let overall percentages mask the differing levels of acquisition of certain language instruction register forms. In this study, certain forms, such as the negative verb with indefinite pronoun as in "I don't have any," showed a very high level of acquisition even in first grade which made only a 5 percent vernacular re-

sponse, e.g., "I ain't got none." By fifth grade the double negative vernacular response was virtually nonexistent. In fact, by grade five the majority of the linguistic forms studied demonstrated language instruction register responses of 80 percent or higher.

Conversely, there were several forms which even by grade five demonstrated very low levels of language instruction register acquisition. The two lowest were 1) articulated in such words as ***he'll*** and ***we'll***, the contracted form of ***he will,*** and 2) ***-sks*** and ***-sts*** (consonant clusters) articulated in such words as ***masks*** and ***ghosts.*** By grade five only slightly over 5 percent of the total responses were articulated ***l***s, and even fewer were the articulated ***-sks*** and ***-sts***. Linguists feel these two forms could cause reading problems because of their absences in black children's speech. Labov (***4***) claims that black vernacular speaking children may have trouble reading ***'ll*** because the sound ***l*** in that position does not function in their speech. The consonant cluster was mostly reduced in the black children's responses to ***mas*** and ***ghos***. Such a realization creates sets of homonyms likes ***masks-masses-massed.*** These sets which do not correspond to the language instruction register pronunciation of the teacher may contribute to a "loss of faith" in the alphabetic code, especially if the teacher views the ***mas*** pronunciation as a "mistake" and tells the child he is not reading correctly. She is not helping him cope with his speech differences when they conflict with learning the language instruction register. The black child has more and different sets of homonyms to cope with than are present in the language instruction register, especially as pronounced by a teacher instructing beginning readers. This child is faced with acquiring another register or probably another set of registers. So the teacher needs to plan strategies designed to help the child become aware of the differences between language instruction register forms and the forms in the black vernacular. But to plan these strategies, the teacher needs specific information as to the levels and patterns of language instruction register acquisition for each black vernacular speaking child in her class. This present research study represents only a beginning in collecting this needed data for the teacher of reading.

References

1. Baratz, Joan C., and Roger W. Shuy (Eds.). ***Teaching Black Children to Read.*** Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1969.
2. DeStefano, Johanna S. "A Sociolinguistic Investigation of the Productive Acquisition of a School Language Instruction Register by Black Children," unpublished doctoral dissertation, Stanford University, 1970.
3. Fasold, Ralph W., and Roger W. Shuy (Eds.). ***Teaching Standard English in the Inner City.*** Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1970.
4. Labov, William. "Some Sources of Reading Problems for Negro Speakers of Nonstandard English," in Joan C. Baratz and Roger W. Shuy (Eds.), ***Teaching Black Children to Read.*** Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1969.
5. Labov, William, and Clarence Robins. "A Note on the Relation of Reading Failure to Peer Group Status in Urban Ghettos," ***Teachers College Record,*** 70 (February 1969), 395-405.

Richard D. Arnold
Purdue University

READING SKILLS OF AFRO- AND MEXICAN-AMERICAN STUDENTS

It is generally recognized that reading problems often are related to limited language development. Similarly, reading and language problems tend to be associated with low socioeconomic status. According to Deutsch (*8*), the language-symbolic process is of primary importance at all levels of learning. It seems that language development is affected by many problems related to stimulus deprivation. Such deprivation is generally characteristic of low socioeconomic (SE) environments. In a pioneer study, Coleman (*6*) investigated the relationship between the SE level of junior high school students and their success in school. His results indicate that children from the higher SE levels consistently excelled in reading. Worley and Story (*14*) examined the relationship between language facility and SE level. They found that children with a low SE background have a significant language disadvantage. Hill and Giammateo (*9*) found a strong positive correlation between high SE level and high levels of school achievement. The high SE group was found to be seven months more advanced than the low group in the total scores of the subtests of the Iowa Tests of Basic Skills.

When a child is not only from a low SE background but also speaks "nonstandard," little, or no English before entering school, success in school would appear to be even more determined by his language and reading development. Arnold and Wist (*2*) conducted research which indicates that members of an ethnic minority group (i.e. Mexican-American) en-

counter problems in auditory discrimination of English sounds. Auditory discrimination appears to be an important factor in the acquisition of reading skills. Deutsch (*7*) and Katz and Deutsch (*11*) found a strong relationship between auditory discrimination and poor reading skills for disadvantaged Negro children.

Another area of concern which deals with the assessment of reading skills for the disadvantaged youth is whether the intelligence and reading tests are appropriate when studying the culturally different child. Horn (*10*) investigated the suitability of instruments which measure intelligence and reading readiness. His results confirm the notion that tests which are normed to the middle-class Caucasian student are inappropriate for measuring the skills of the child who comes from a family where English is not the main language used. Arnold (*1*) investigated the reliability of tests that had been normed on a middle class population. His sample was composed of third grade culturally disadvantaged bilingual Mexican-American children. His findings reveal that at the third grade the Metropolitan Achievement Test and the Inter-American Reading Test possess satisfactory reliability if the appropriate level of the test is administered. (In this case, a second grade test was administered to third grade children.)

Unfortunately, little research has been done to compare two disadvantaged minority ethnic groups in order to determine whether these groups have similar reading problems. Most previous research in this area has utilized survey-type achievement tests for general reading. Such tests usually yield reading scores from one or two subtests. That research has not been specific enough to be of great help to educators who wish to design compensatory reading programs.

The focus of this study is a twofold comparison of two disadvantaged minority groups, namely, Mexican-Americans and Afro-Americans. The purposes of the study are to 1) determine if the various reading subskills of the two groups are essentially the same and 2) identify, for each ethnic group, possible strengths and weaknesses in the several reading subskills. Such information should aid in considering the extent and type of reading lessons that students from different ethnic and cultural backgrounds may require.

PROCEDURE

The study was conducted in a junior high school located in a central Texas city. The area surrounding the school is characterized by substandard housing and other indicators of a low SE level. The school population consisted of a majority of Mexican-American students, although a small percentage of Afro-Americans were enrolled. The pool of Afro-Americans from which the sample was taken was limited. Consequently, the sample included 32 Afro-American children and 50 Mexican-American children randomly sampled from the seventh grade classes.

The measures of reading ability utilized in the study were the following:

1. ***The New Developmental Reading Tests for the Intermediate Grades, Form IR-A (3),*** which yielded five subtests related to reading comprehension. The rationale responsible for choosing the intermediate level of this test was based on experience which indicates that children of Mexican-American and Afro-American backgrounds read considerably below their assigned grade levels (***1***).

2. ***The Silent Reading Diagnostic Tests, Form D-A*** (***4***), a battery of tests which includes 11 subtests, each of which examines a child's word recognition ability. Bliesmer (***5***) evaluates this test battery as an excellent tool for detailed diagnosis of children's reading skills while, similarly, McCall's research (***12***) indicates that this battery of tests has much potential for aiding the diagnosis of reading problems.

3. ***The California Short-Form Test of Mental Maturity*** (***13***), which was used to gain information on language and nonlanguage and total IQ scores.

The New Developmental Reading Tests for Intermediate Grades were administered to the subjects in September; the Silent Reading Diagnostic Test was administered the following week; and the California Short-Form Test of Mental Maturity was administered in October.

ANALYSES

The statistical analyses utilized in this study were analysis of variance and chi-square. A one-way analysis of variance

was computed for testing the difference between each group on each subtest and the total of the subtest scores on the New Developmental Reading Test for the Intermediate Grades, the Silent Reading Diagnostic Tests, and the California Short-Form Test of Mental Maturity. Analysis of variance

TABLE 1

Results of Analysis of Variance Between Mexican-American and Afro-American Groups

Variable	Grade Equivalents			
	Mexican-American	Afro-American	F Ratio	P.
California Short Form Mental Maturity				
Total	88.78	87.84	.065	.80
Language	86.62	88.13	.244	.63
Nonlanguage	95.26	91.53	.715	.59
New Developmental Reading Tests				
General Comprehen.	5.8	5.6	.176	.68
Basic Read. Voc.	5.9	6.1	1.156	.29
Read. for Info.	5.8	5.4	1.734	.19
Read. for Refer.	5.6	5.6	.040	.84
Read. for Interp.	6.1	5.7	.203	.66
Read. for Apprec.	6.1	6.1	.475	.50
Silent Reading Diagnostic Tests				
Words in Isolation	4.5	5.0	1.084	.30
Words in Context	4.3	4.3	.291	.60
Total Right Recog.	4.4	4.4	.133	.72
Initial Errors	4.0	4.0	.367	.55
Middle Errors	4.5	4.5	.023	.87
Ending Errors	5.5	5.5	.059	.80
Orientation Errors	4.0	4.0	.126	.72
Reversible Words in Context	5.5	5.5	.150	.70
Total Visual Analy.	6.0+	6.0+	.099	.79
Total Phonetic Know.	4.3	4.3	.068	.79
Locating Elements	5.5	5.5	.065	.79
Syllabication	6.0+	6.0+	.537	.53
Locating Root Words	5.7	5.6	.118	.73
Word Elements	4.5	4.3	.985	.68
Beginning Sounds	3.5	4.0	1.471	.23
Rhyming Sounds	4.4	4.3	.624	.56
Letter Sounds	4.5	4.5	3.635	.06
Word Synthesis	4.3	4.0	2.375	.12

Degrees of Freedom Between Groups, 1; Group Error, 80

Mexican-American N = 50
Afro-American N = 32

was also used to calculate group differences on the variables of chronological age and number of children in the family. Chi-squares were computed on the variables of sex of the head of the family, the incidence of broken homes, and whether welfare assistance was received by the families.

RESULTS

Table 1 shows the analyses of variance computed on the data.

Results from the analyses of variance indicate: 1) on all total test and subtest scores, no significant differences were found between the two ethnic groups; 2) the Mexican-American group averaged 4.29 months older than the Afro-American group ($p<.02$); 3) the Mexican-American group averaged 2.62 more children in the family than the Afro-American group ($p<.001$).

Tables 2, 3, and 4 show the chi-square values for sex of the head of the family, the incidence of broken homes, and whether welfare assistance was received.

TABLE 2

Chi-Square Analysis Between Mexican-American and Afro-American Sex of Head of the Family

	Male	Female
Mexican-American	41	9
Afro-American	17	15

$x^2 = 7.86$
$df = 1$
$p < .01$

TABLE 3

Chi-Square Analysis Between Mexican-American and Afro-American Number of Broken Homes

	Broken Home	Nonbroken Home
Mexican-American	9	41
Afro-American	14	18

$x^2 = 6.41$
$df = 1$
$p < .01$

TABLE 4

Chi-Square Analysis Between Mexican-American and Afro-American Welfare Assistance

	Welfare Assistance	No Welfare Assistance
Mexican-American	8	42
Afro-American	5	27

$x^2 = .002$
df = 1
p = N.S.

Results from the chi-square analyses indicated: 1) the Mexican-American group had a higher incidence of male heads of family ($p<.01$); 2) the Afro-American group had a higher number of broken homes ($p<.01$); and 3) there was no statistically significant difference between the two groups on whether welfare assistance was received.

DISCUSSION

Based on the foregoing findings, it may be inferred that 1) Mexican-American children in the seventh grade operate at approximately the same level of reading as the Afro-American children in the same grade; 2) the statistically significant difference in chronological age found between the two ethnic groups suggests that the findings of this study might have been different had the students been compared by chronological age rather than by grade level; 3) the average reading scores of both groups ranged from 1½ to 3½ years below the normed grade level except for total visual analysis and syllabication scores.

When looking at the reading subtest scores, both ethnic groups achieved grade level equivalents of less than mastery (4.3) for total phonetic knowledge and mastery (6.0+) for total visual analysis. This outcome suggests that both groups utilize visual analysis skills to a much greater extent than phonic skills. Perhaps this condition is due to the lack of development in their oral language related skills.

Data from the intelligence test indicated that for both groups, nonlanguage subscores (95.26 and 91.53 for the Mexican-American and Afro-American children, respectively) were higher than the language subscores (86.62 and 88.13 for

the Mexican-American and the Afro-American children, respectively). This finding coupled with the results that the visual analysis skills are stronger than the phonic skills in reading further supports the notion that both groups of children have language related problems.

Careful consideration should be given to the findings that no signficant differences resulted when the two groups were compared at the seventh grade level, except that the Mexican-Americans were more than 4 months older than the Afro-Americans. This result suggests that when Mexican-American children reach the seventh grade, they are equal with the Afro-Americans in terms of language development but that they have taken longer to attain this level of efficiency. One could be led to believe, consequently, that for Mexican-American children the deficiency in English is more severe. An explanation could be that teachers have more difficulty in understanding the speech of the Mexican-American children. Consequently, these children may be more frequently retained in the lower grades than the Afro-American children.

This study appears to reflect the problems reported in the literature: children from an ethnic minority group have limited vocabulary and language development. Perhaps this condition is due to the different types (in terms of "standard" English) of verbal communication within the homes and communities. Since these children generally speak "nonstandard" or limited English, they may employ speech sounds and patterns dissimilar to those typically spoken in school and reflected in texts. Since language facility is related to reading achievement and since these children differ from the normal readers in language related skills, it would seem important for instructors to emphasize the use of oral English language in their teaching.

Probably the most interesting information derived from this study is that both the Mexican-Americans and the Afro-Americans, despite their differences in cultural backgrounds, exhibit similar profiles in reading subskills. The similarity of the average scores suggests that the two groups could profit equally from comparable instruction.

However, in view of the difference in chronological age

between the two groups, extreme caution should be employed in drawing a conclusion because language development may be a function of chronological age rather than of grade level. A replication of this study at the lower school grades would prove useful in providing information to determine if there is a discrepancy in rate of language development in both ethnic groups.

References

1. Arnold, R. D. "Reliability of Test Scores for the Young 'Bilingual Disadvantaged,' " ***Reading Teacher***, 22 (1969), 341-345.
2. Arnold, R. D., and A. H. Wist. "Auditory Discrimination Abilities of Disadvantaged Anglo- and Mexican-American Children," ***Elementary School Journal***, 70 (1970), 295-299.
3. Bond, G. L., B. Balow, and C. Hoyt. ***The New Developmental Reading Tests for the Intermediate Grades, Form IR-A.*** Chicago: Lyons and Carnahan, 1968.
4. Bond, G. L., T. Clymer, and C. Hoyt. ***Silent Reading Diagnostic Tests, Form D-A.*** Dallas: Lyons and Carnahan, 1955.
5. Buros, O. K. (Ed.). ***The Sixth Mental Measurement Yearbook.*** Highland Park, New Jersey: Gryphon Press, 1965.
6. Coleman, H. A. "The Relationship of Socioeconomic Status to the Performance of Junior High School Students," ***Journal of Experimental Education,*** 9 (1940), 61-63.
7. Deutsch, C. P. "Auditory Discrimination and Learning: Social Factors," ***Merrill-Palmer Quarterly of Behavior and Development,*** 10 (July 1964).
8. Deutsch, M. ***The Disadvantaged Child.*** New York: Basic Books, 1964.
9. Hill, E. H., and M. C. Giammateo. "Socioeconomic Status and Its Relationship to School Achievement in the Elementary School," ***Elementary English***, 40 (1963), 265-270.
10. Horn, T. D. ***A Study of the Effects of Intensive Oral-Aural Spanish Language Instruction, Oral-Aural English Instruction, and Non-Oral-Aural Instruction on Reading Readiness in Grade One.*** Austin, Texas: University of Texas, 1966.
11. Katz, P. A., and M. Deutsch. "The Relationship of Auditory and Visual Functioning to Reading Achievement in Disadvantaged Children," in M. Deutsch (Ed.), ***The Disadvantaged Child***, 1967.
12. McCall, R. B. "Comparative Validity of Five Reading Diagnostic Tests," ***Journal of Education Research***, 62 (1969), 329-333.
13. Sullivan, E. T., W. W. Clark, and E. Tiegs. ***California Short-Form Test of Mental Maturity, Mental Age Range Common to Grades 7***

and 8, S-Form Level 3. Monterey, California: California Test Bureau, 1963.

14. Worley, S. E., and W. Story. "Socioeconomic Status and Language Facility of Beginning First Graders," ***Reading Teacher***, 20 (1967), 400-403.

Eleanor R. Kirkland
and
Frank Bautista
Sacramento State College

i.t.a. AS A TOOL FOR PREVENTING CUMULATIVE LANGUAGE DEFICIT IN DISADVANTAGED CHILDREN

The Dos Rios School in the North Sacramento, California, School District was chosen by Sacramento State College to serve as a demonstration school in the Mexican-American Experienced Teacher Fellowship Program. This federally funded program, which was developed to retrain experienced teachers to work with bilingual and disadvantaged children, has now been extended to preservice training. The Dos Rios School has a large population of children of Mexican descent with a heavy concentration from the lower socioeconomic group. The rest of the school population is composed of Anglo, Negro, and Oriental children from approximately the same socioeconomic level. Many of the children live in a government housing project located near the school. This housing project and the immediately surrounding area have a heavy concentration of families of Mexican descent and are referred to as the "barrio." The Smythe School, with a similar population, also in the North Sacramento School District, was added as an additional demonstration school during the second year of the program.

Research has shown that many children from the lower socioeconomic groups suffer a severe language deficit at the time they enter the first grade (*3*). Ausubel found that children from a culturally deprived environment were handicapped by "an impoverished language-symbolic system . . . . In the area of language development, and particularly with respect to the abstract dimensions of verbal functioning, the

culturally deprived child manifests the greatest degree of intellectual retardation" (*1*). He further stated that this deficit in verbal functioning tends to become cumulative in effect since current and future intellectual developments are dependent upon the currently attained level of development (*2*). With reference to the development of reading skills, this conclusion is born out by an examination of the school records of these children which often show a lag of from three to five years in reading achievement on completion of elementary school.

However, Ausubel (*2*) hypothesized that "an optimal learning environment could arrest and reverse in part the existing degree of retardation." This arrest and reversal would occur in direct proportion to the early date at which such an environment is provided. It is, therefore, important that programs which can provide such an environment be investigated and instituted at the earliest possible date if the potential of this segment of the population is not to be wasted.

STATEMENT OF PROBLEM

The location of these two schools and the composition of the pupil population presented an array of educational problems not only of the Mexican-American child but also of all children from the lower socioeconomic strata of other ethnic groups as widely described in the literature of Riesmann, Fantini, Weinstein, and others. The demonstration schools were to serve as a testing ground for a variety of materials and methods which might be useful in the development of a more meaningful and effective first grade program for disadvantaged children—specifically, one which would fill the gaps in their preschool experience. The development of such programs, it was hoped, would expedite the arrest and reversal of any existing degree in intellectual retardation caused by previous experiential deprivation and, in turn, be instrumental in preventing the cumulative effects of the experiential deficit in the later school years.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this particular study was to assess the effectiveness of i.t.a. combined with a language experience

approach as a tool for the development of oral and written language and the teaching of reading to groups of disadvantaged learners, particularly those with a bilingual and non-standard English speaking element.

An attempt was made to identify the components of the "optimal learning environment," mentioned by Ausubel as it pertained to the learning of language skills, through an examination of the following questions:

1. What would be the outcomes of an optimal learning environment at the first grade level with respect to reading?
2. How would these outcomes be provided for in a program using the initial teaching alphabet?
3. What hypotheses could be drawn regarding the use of i.t.a. as a medium for teaching reading to disadvantaged children?

Question 1 refers to the behavioral objectives for pupils upon completion of the first grade. With particular reference to children who begin school with a language deficit, the following were suggested:

1. The child will have mastered the decoding skills necessary for reading and understanding materials written at the first grade level as measured by the Cooperative Primary Reading Test.
2. The child will have mastered the encoding skills necessary for expressing himself simply and legibly in written form.
3. The child will have acquired the vocabulary base necessary for achievement in decoding and encoding skills.
4. The child will have begun to develop an awareness of correct syntactical usage and to recognize his own mistakes.
5. The child will have developed the listening skills necessary for comprehension of a more extended language system than that used in his home.

Question 2 asked how i.t.a. would provide for the achievement of these outcomes. Assuming that the use of i.t.a. would significantly simplify the decoding and encoding problems of beginning readers, the range in vocabulary should increase as these skills are acquired, permitting the development and use of a more extensive vocabulary than possible when using the conventional basal reader program in

the traditional orthography. The early writing encouraged by the use of i.t.a., particularly if it is used in conjunction with a language experience approach, should provide the medium for the development of early writing skills. That children using i.t.a. do write far more copiously than children using t.o. has been borne out by previous studies. The opportunity and ability to express oneself in writing are of particular value to the child with a limited language experience because writing allows him the greatest use of the language already at his command.

Question 3 dealt with the inferences which could be drawn from the discussion of the first two questions. These inferences follow in the hypotheses.

HYPOTHESES

The hypotheses as stated in the null form were.

1. There would be no significant difference in the reading ability of the experimental and control groups as measured by the Cooperative Primary Reading Test.
2. There would be no significant difference in the oral language development of the experimental and control groups as measured by teacher evaluation.
3. There would be no significant difference in the written language development of the experimental and control groups as measured by teacher evaluation.

GROUPS STUDIED

The sample consisted of 102 children divided into two groups consisting of an experimental group of 51 first grade children from the same two schools. In addition, the children in the demonstration class at the Dos Rios School were chosen on the basis of their language deficit in English, low performance in kindergarten or pre-first based on testing and teacher judgment, or because they had had no previous school experience. As such, they represented the lower or less capable half of the incoming first grade. During the school year two boys, who had recently arrived from Mexico with their families, were added to this particular class.

TESTS USED

The Cooperative Primary Reading Test, Form 12A, was

used to measure reading achievement. The children using i.t.a. were administered the i.t.a. version of the test. The oral and written developments of the child were measured by teacher evaluation of vocabulary, number of words used, word meaning, length of sentences, sentence patterns used, and length of stories written.

STATISTICAL TREATMENT

A comparison of mean reading achievement scores was made. The *t* test was used for significance. A further comparison was made between the number of students in each program who were reading at or above grade level as contrasted with the number of students in each program who were reading below grade level. The cutoff point was 1.9 (the ninth month of the first grade year, which corresponded with the grade level of achievement for the May testing). Chi-square (x^2) was used to determine significance.

DESCRIPTION OF PROGRAM

The primary objective was to provide a sequence of experiences for all bilingual and disadvantaged children which would lead them to the efficient acquisition of the basic skills of reading, language and number concepts, and the social understanding and behavior which form the objectives of the curriculum at this level and, second, to work toward the acquisition of these desired skills and behaviors in such a manner as to provide for each child a consistent pattern of success and to avoid insofar as possible the frustrations and failure met by so many of these children in the conventional classroom.

Since the greatest single deficit was in the area of language development, the experimental group was taught bilingually. Both teachers spoke Spanish as did the aides and students from the college who were involved in the program. Some of the most interesting results were noted in the experimental first grade at the Dos Rios School.

The teacher in this classroom was a Mexican-American with a fluent command of Spanish. He had been an elementary teacher in the district for 12 years, although not always at the Dos Rios School. During the school year, 1968-1969,

he was a participant in the Mexican-American project during which time he taught part-time at the Dos Rios School and did research on the problem of improving the curriculum and school program for children of Mexican descent. He was awarded a Master's Degree in elementary education with a specialty in curriculum and instruction. Throughout the year he spent many hours working with families and leaders in the Mexican-American community. As a result he had a keen awareness and understanding of the problems faced by these children when they enter school. The objectives and philosophy of this study were developed as a result of this experience.

As mentioned previously, since the greatest single deficit of these children (Mexican descent, Anglos, and Orientals) in terms of achieving school success seemed to be in language skills, the main focus of the program was in this area. This class was taught bilingually in that all explanations, instructions, and responses from the children were given in both Spanish and English with frequent translation to insure comprehension. This class was not bilingual in the sense that it held bilingualism as a goal for the children. However, Spanish and English were both used as tools of communication, and the children were encouraged to use the language in which they had the background necessary for clarifying meaning, developing the language skills of speaking and writing, and, to a limited degree, reading. Although the development of correct and fluent standard English was the ultimate goal, it was hoped that fluency and continued development in Spanish would occur, particularly for those children who came from a Spanish speaking background. In keeping with the expressed desires of the Mexican-American community, pride in the Spanish language and an understanding of its role as a world language as well as a source of continuing identity for the child of Mexican descent were encouraged through simple discussions not only of the language but also of the Mexican cultural heritage and its impact upon modern California. In the same manner, the variety of cultural backgrounds represented in the class were discussed and used to provide an understanding of the different cultural heritages of the group. It was hoped this beginning would provide the basis of under-

standing necessary for entrance into the mainstream of American life without the sacrifice of former cultural identity and that, in reaching toward a new identity, these children would also be able to draw upon the strengths of both their own and the mainstream culture in order to cope constructively when confronted with the inevitable conflict in values.

At the beginning of the year many of the children, English speaking as well as Spanish speaking, had very limited vocabularies and little verbal experience. Considerable time was devoted to building speaking and listening skills through the use of the Peabody Language Kit, particularly the picture cards, many games, inquiry discussions, singing games, story time, puppets, dramatization, and role playing. These activities were presented in both English and Spanish with constant translation back and forth. Many of the songs and games were arranged so that the verses or phrases could be sung in one language and then repeated in the other. This approach was also useful in presenting beginning number concepts so that very quickly all the children could count in both languages. During this time, all writing was done using the i.t.a. symbols.

Gradually, as the children became familiar with the sound-symbol relationship of the characters, they were asked to draw pictures of things beginning with the sound they represented. The Spanish-speaking children were encouraged to find Spanish words beginning with the sounds being studied. In this way the children were using the language which they brought from home as the basis for learning early reading skills. Whenever possible, words with the same beginning sound in both Spanish and English were used as examples.

As the children began to write simple sentences independently, it was noted that those children with a Spanish-speaking background were writing Spanish words and phrases in i.t.a. This practice was encouraged, and it led to the development of parallel stories written in both English and Spanish using i.t.a. With the childrens help, it was not difficult to find i.t.a. symbols for each of the Spanish sounds. Stories were written on the blackboard side by side in both English and Spanish, and the children were asked to find the same phrase or word in both versions. The stories were transferred to a

tagboard and became a permanent addition to the classroom in the form of ***Our Big Book of Stories.*** Comparisons were made in the grammatical structure, word order, agreement of modifiers, and gender of nouns in Spanish, etc., with the result that as a beginning understanding of English syntactical usage was being developed, some of the same understanding of the structure and usage of the Spanish language was being learned. In this way, the incidental use of Spanish as a medium for insuring comprehension for the Spanish-speaking child resulted in the improvement of his knowledge of his native language. For the English speaking child, it provided a repertoire of commonly used words and phrases and a "feel" for usage which would serve as an excellent foundation for the development of Spanish as a second language.

The rationale for using i.t.a. symbols in both languages simultaneously was that through the use of a single set of characters arranged in a one-sound-for-one-symbol relationship for both languages, the development of both reading and writing skills could proceed much more rapidly than would otherwise be the case. The simplification of decoding and encoding provided by the single system of symbols together with the freedom of the children to build these skills in the language in which they had the better background encouraged progress. The presentation of materials in both languages, side by side, provided the child with the opportunity for building comprehension in his second language while getting meaning readily in his native language. Further justification for the time and effort devoted to the reading and writing of Spanish was found in the assumption that the optimum period for the acquisition of a second language coincides with the primary years in school and is probably passed by the time the child is ten years old. Although the primary objective was the acquisition of language skills in English, the opportunity to begin a second language under optimum conditions was offered to the English speaking child. There were also recognized disadvantages in the use of i.t.a. symbols in writing Spanish. With Spanish being a fairly regular language as far as grapheme-phoneme correspondence is concerned, it was felt by some that there was no justification for the use of i.t.a. with its resulting period of transition to t.o. before use

of reading skills in Spanish could be realized. However, the success of the children in acquiring reading and writing skills and the resulting fluency in expression gained without an excessively long period of readiness seemed to justify the use of i.t.a. in both English and Spanish. It was also recognized that it would be necessary for some children to continue the use of i.t.a. for a period of two or perhaps three years before the transition was complete in both languages. It was further recognized that in starting children in i.t.a. in Spanish, the teacher incurred the responsibility of providing a period of transition in both languages so that reading and writing skills would be carried over into the traditional orthography. This procedure placed a far greater burden on the teacher than that found in a conventional setting. For this reason it was proposed that, whenever possible, a team-teaching approach be used, ideally each team member speaking one of the languages as a mother tongue. It would also be beneficial to the children to remain with the same team of teachers for at least two years to guarantee continuity.

OUTCOMES

In May 1970, all children in the primary grades in the North Sacramento School District were tested for reading achievement. The Primary Cooperative Reading Test was administered to all first grade pupils. The i.t.a. classes used the i.t.a. version. From the analysis of data it was concluded that there was a significant difference in reading achievement in favor of the experimental group.

TABLE 1

Mean Scores for i.t.a. and t.o. classes

	i.t.a. cl.A	t.o. cl.C	i.t.a. cl.B	t.o. cl.B
No. of Children	24	20	27	31
Mean Raw Score	28	19	30	19
Mean Gr. Equivalent	2.0	1.6	2.1	1.6
Standard Deviation	8.5	3.7	9.5	6.9
	t=4.5*		t=5.3*	

*Significant at .001

TABLE 2

Number of Students Reading at or Above Grade Level as Compared to Number of Students Reading Below Grade Level

	At or Above Grade Level	Below Grade Level
i.t.a. classes	34	17
t.o. classes	6	45

$x^2 = 15.3$ which is significant as the .001 level.

The results for the bilingual i.t.a. were encouraging. The mean grade equivalent achievement in reading for the class was 2.0 or one month above the grade level of 1.9 for the May testing. In terms of the number of children reading at or above grade level as compared to those reading below grade level, 15 of the 24 children tested were reading at or above grade level. Four others showed a lag of one month, and no one scored below 1.5. As was anticipated, the children with the least command of English were found to be in the lower quartile of the class ranking. However, the highest score in the class was achieved by a child who had spoken no English until entrance into kindergarten the previous year.

Many observations of the bilingual i.t.a. class revealed the high degree of enthusiasm and confidence which both teacher and pupils had for the i.t.a. program. They were delighted with the results of the use of i.t.a. in Spanish as well as in English and especially by the sense of discovery which accompanied its use. The children in the i.t.a. group derived a sense of self-confidence which was not observable in the t.o. class in the same school and which resulted in a discernible difference in the positive nature of the self-concept which these children were developing.

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

The use of i.t.a. would appear to be a more effective means of teaching reading to disadvantaged children than the use of t.o. There seemed to be a more positive reinforcement, in terms of successful experiences, built into the i.t.a. program. This outcome may account in part for the enhanced self-confidence observed in children in the i.t.a. classes. A real

difference in reading achievement was demonstrated by the ability of those i.t.a. pupils who made the transfer to t.o. to read from second and third grade basal readers.

With reference to the ability of the two reading programs to overcome the initial language deficit in disadvantaged children and to prevent the cumulative effects of this deficit upon later academic achievement, the results indicate that the i.t.a. program, particularly when used within the framework of a language experience approach, shows definite promise and, within the limits of the present sample, a demonstrated ability to prevent the onset of this cumulative deficit in the area of reading.

An assessment of the degree to which these conclusions can be generalized to the larger population of disadvantaged children must wait further investigation. Further study is going on at the present time. It is hoped that the findings will further this assessment.

References

1. Ausubel, David P. "The Effects of Cultural Deprivation on Learning Patterns," in E. T. Keach et al (Eds.), ***Education and Social Crisis***. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1967.
2. Ausubel, David P. "How Reversible are the Cognitive and Motivational Effects of Cultural Deprivation? Implications for Teaching the Culturally Deprived Child," in H. Passow et al (Eds.), ***Education for the Disadvantaged***. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967.
3. Hunt, J. McVicker. "The Psychological Basis for Using Preschool as an Antidote for Cultural Deprivation," in H. Passow et al (Eds.), ***Education of the Disadvantaged***. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967, 174-213.

Carl L. Rosen
and
Wilbur S. Ames

Georgia State University

INFLUENCE OF NONSTANDARD DIALECT ON THE ORAL READING BEHAVIOR OF FOURTH GRADE BLACK CHILDREN UNDER TWO STIMULI CONDITIONS*

Linguists are in agreement concerning variations within languages and the fact that these dialects, while different from the national tongues that they represent, are not inferior forms. Labov (*3*) and Stewart (*6*) have described various features of Negro dialect highlighting social as well as linguistic realities associated with this phenomenon in the United States today. Labov has pointed out that differences between standard English and Negro dialect are slight compared to their similarities. Both Labov and Stewart stress the fact that Negro dialect is a well-ordered linguistic system with specific and identifiable features.

Recently, linguists have become concerned with the learning-to-read process as it pertains to black disadvantaged pupils. Linguists contend that Negro dialect has an important, if not profound, influence on both the processes of teaching reading and learning to read. The study by Baratz (*2*) is frequently cited as support for these contentions.

Baratz constructed an oral repetition task consisting of 15 standard English sentences and 15 equivalent sentences in Negro dialect. The sentences were designed to contain various instances of different grammatical and syntactical features which previous studies have identified as major points of distinction between standard English and Negro dialect. The repetition tasks were administered to both white and black

*Supported by research funds from Georgia State University.

third and fifth grade pupils from two schools in the Washington, D.C., area. Baratz reported that both white and black pupils excelled one another in repeating sentences presented to them in their own linguistic system and that subjects from both groups attempted to translate, in predictable ways, into their own systems sentences presented to them from the other system. Such data as these have been cited as evidence of the existence of a dual linguistic system in American schools—a system which should have long been recognized and accepted, no less accounted for—and as an explanation for the reading difficulties of disadvantaged black children. The "interference effect," postulated by these writers, results from introducing disadvantaged children to reading materials written in standard English. These children, according to such assumptions, must in the learning-to-read stage not only learn to decode printed symbols but also to translate them into their own system to be successful.

The present writers in a previous study (*1*) examined several of these assumptions in an oral reading task consisting of the 15 standard sentences from the Baratz study. Taped transcriptions were collected of the oral reading of these sentences by 25 black fourth graders from an innercity, low income, neighborhood school in the Atlanta, Georgia, area. Analysis of the tapes revealed that, as predicted by both Shuy (*4*) and Labov (*3*), certain specific linguistic features produced more dialect-based responses than others. Four of the eight linguistic features focused upon in the Baratz sentences were identified as more relevant in eliciting dialect-based oral reading behavior from the pupils in this study than in the others. These four were the very features specified by Shuy as being less different from standard English than the others, thus more easily changed into dialect by these children. Also reported were significant differences in both frequency and consistency of dialect-based responses among the four features and the items constituting these features.

PURPOSE OF THE PRESENT STUDY

This study is designed to provide further data regarding the extent, frequency, and consistency of occurrence of four

specific dialect-based responses in the oral reading of a sample of innercity black fourth grade children. The basic question raised was whether these children, when presented with an oral reading task consisting of connected prose, would exhibit in their oral reading of standard English content the same degree of dialect-based responses as compared to a task where the instrument consisted of 15 single sentences presented separately. In addition, this study was concerned with the order effect of presentation of the oral reading tasks and its influence on the extent of elicited dialect-based responses.

The specific research questions are as follows:

1. What is the extent of occurrence of the four dialect-based oral reading responses when the stimuli conditions consist of connected prose?
2. Are there significant differences in the frequency of the four dialect-based oral reading responses under the conditions of connected prose?
3. Are there significant differences in the consistency of the four dialect-based responses for each of the items constituting a particular feature under the conditions of connected prose?
4. Are there significant differences in the extent of dialect-based responses due to the order effect of passage presentation?
5. Are there significant differences in the extent and frequency of dialect-based responses between the sentence and connected prose stimuli conditions?

SUBJECTS

The subjects were 21 black fourth grade children from the previous study of 25 children. Each of these children represents subjects who were randomly selected in the earlier study from the total pool of fourth graders in the school and who were able to respond to the sentence task described previously. The sample consisted of 14 female and 7 male youngsters, whose average chronological age was 9.11 at the time of the study.

Complete data on tested intelligence were available for 17 subjects. Based upon the administration of the California Test of Mental Maturity the previous school year, the 17

pupils had an average language IQ of 80.4, nonlanguage IQ of 77.5, and total IQ of 76.1.

Current reading achievement data were available for only eight pupils. The California Achievement Test, administered during the year of the study, indicated that the eight pupils had an average reading grade placement score of 2.6.

TESTING PROCEDURES AND ANALYSES OF THE DATA

The connected prose constructed for this study consisted of three passages written in standard English, which were derived from three of the 15 sentences from the Baratz study (*2*). Each passage was designed to provide a flow of simple ideas as well as to contain sufficient instances to constitute a pool of items which would elicit expected dialect-based responses for the four linguistic features under study. Table 1 lists and provides illustrations of the four features of concern in this study. As previously mentioned, recent writings of both Shuy and Labov, as well as the earlier study of the authors of this report, have identified these particular linguistic features as producing oral reading "problems" for intermediate grade disadvantaged children.

TABLE 1

Examples of the Four Nonstandard Dialect Features Under Investigation

Feature	*Standard*	*Nonstandard*
Third Person Singular Verb Marker	She needs help.	She need help.
Past Verb Marker	She yelled at him.	She yell at him.
Noun Possessive Marker	John's father is away.	John father is away.
Noun Plural Marker	He can't go to the games.	He can't go to the game.

Table 2 presents the breakdown of the number of items constituting a particular feature for the three passages, as well as the total number of items which could elicit expected dialect-based responses per passage. The readability estimates for each of the specially constructed passages, based upon the Spache formula, are also provided in this table.

TABLE 2

Number of Items Constituting Four Dialect-Based Features for Three Passages and Readability for Each Passage

*Passage # and Readability**	*Third Person Singular Verb Marker*	*Past Verb Marker*	*Noun Possessive Marker*	*Noun Plural Marker*	*Total*
1 (3.0)	2	2	2	3	9
2 (2.7)	2	4	3	4	13
3 (3.3)	4	2	3	1	10
	8	8	8	8	32

*Spache Formula

The passages were typed on cards by use of a primer typewriter. All testing was done individually by one of the investigators who had worked with these children in the previous study. Order of passage presentation was uniform for each child, and all oral reading responses were taped for later analysis.

Of the original 25 subjects from the previous study (from whom sentence data were collected a few weeks before), three pupils moved from the district and one child was eliminated since he experienced excessive difficulty reading the passages. Adjustments were made for this depletion on the data obtained from the sentence stimuli study so that comparisons between the two conditions would be possible for the 21 subjects.

Analysis of the data focused upon the four key grammatical and syntactical features illustrated in Table 1 of this report. A child's response to an item constituting a feature was categorized as dialect based only if it matched what Baratz identified in her study as the predominant pattern in Negro dialect. If it did not, it was categorized as "other" and, for this report, not further analyzed. On this basis the taped transcriptions of each child's oral reading of the three passages were analyzed and a summary sheet for each pupil's responses was completed. This summary indicated the total number of responses falling into each of the two categories (dialect based or other) for each of the four features by

passage. A master sheet combining data from each summary sheet was then prepared. On the basis of the questions posed, various applications of the chi-square test were then made on the total data, following procedures prescribed by Siegel (*5*).

MAJOR FINDINGS

Table 3 contains the percentages of responses categorized as dialect based for each of the four key features. In reference to the first question posed, it can be seen from this data that high proportions of oral reading responses categorized as dialect based are noted for each of the four key features under the connected prose stimuli conditions. It should be noted that responses categorized as dialect based are only assumed to be so. It might be that some proportion of these may actually be decoding miscues.

TABLE 3

Percentage of Oral Reading Responses Categorized as Dialect Based for Four Linguistic Features Under Two Stimuli Conditions (N = 21)

	% of Response Dialect Based	
Feature	*Connected Prose*	*Sentences*
Third Person Singular Verb Marker	50	20
Past Verb Marker	27	21
Noun Possessive Marker	63	62
Noun Plural Marker	57	32

A second issue of concern in this study deals with the question as to whether the frequency of responses categorized as dialect based differ significantly among the four key features included. It can be seen in Table 4 that a x^2 of 50.43 was computed which, with 3 degrees of freedom, is significant beyond the .001 level of confidence. Significant differences in frequency of occurrence among the four key linguistic features can be explained by the relatively lower frequency of responses categorized as dialect based for the past verb marker.

The third question deals with the consistency of dialect based responses for each of the eight items constituting the

four key linguistic features under study. X^2s were computed for the frequency of dialect responses for each of the items constituting the instances of a particular feature. Resulting x^2s were nonsignificant for two of the four key features studied, indicating a consistency of frequency of dialect-based responses across items constituting the two features, third person singular verb markers and noun possessive marker.

TABLE 4
Frequency of Responses Falling into Two Categories for Four Key Linguistic Features for Connected Prose (N = 21)

Feature	*Dialect Based*	*Other*	*Total*
Third Person Singular Verb Marker	84	84	168
Past Verb Marker	45	123	168
Noun Possessive Marker	106	62	168
Noun Plural Marker	95	73	168
	330	342	672

$x^2 = 50.43$ (df = 3)
$p < .001$

A x^2 of 38.00 was computed which, with 7 degrees of freedom, was significant at the .001 level for the consistency of responses across items constituting the past verb marker feature. An analysis of items for this feature indicates that the significance of these findings is best explained by the fact that responses categorized as dialect based were significantly more frequent for items containing regular verbs (***yelled*** 19; ***skipped*** 9; ***used*** 6) than for items containing irregular verbs (***went*** 0; ***told*** 0; ***gave*** 2; ***said*** 3; ***made*** 9).

A x^2 of 23.32 with 7 degrees of freedom was computed for the noun plural marker feature, which was significant at the .01 level of confidence, indicating an inconsistency of responses for this particular feature across items. Internal analysis of the items constituting this feature did not result in a satisfactory explanation; however, there does exist the possibility of order effect as a possible explanation of these findings.

The fourth question in the analysis relates to the issue of the effect of passage presentation on the extent of responses categorized as dialect based. It can be noted in Table 5 that the proportion of dialect based responses appeared to increase in almost regular increments by passage presentation. A x^2 of 11.66 was computed which, with 2 degrees of freedom, was significant at the .01 level of confidence. It is of interest to note that these findings occurred in spite of the fact that passages two and three both contained large numbers of items consisting of the two linguistic features (past verb marker and third person singular marker) which showed smaller frequencies of dialect-based responses (see Tables 2 and 3) than the other features studied.

TABLE 5

Number and Proportion of Dialect Based Responses By Order Effect of Passages (N = 21)

	Dialect			
Passage #	#	%	*Other*	*Total*
1	78	41%	111	189
2	130	48%	143	273
3	122	58%	88	210
	330		342	672

$x^2 = 11.66$ (df = 2)
$p < .05$
$p < .01$
$p > .001$

The last question dealt with in the analysis was concerned with the comparison between oral reading data obtained under the two stimuli conditions: sentence vs. connected prose. Table 3 presents a comparison of the proportions of oral reading responses categorized as dialect based for the four key features under the two stimuli conditions. It can be seen from the table that large increases occurred in these type responses for two of the key features under study; and smaller increases are noted for the other two features by change in stimulus conditions. Oral reading responses categorized as dialect based for the pupils in this sample are apparently more stable under changing stimuli conditions for the

noun possessive marker and for the past verb marker features than for the other two key features studied.

As would be expected from a study of these data in Table 3, x^2s computed (separately for each feature to test for the significance of differences in frequency of dialect-based responses for the features studied under the two stimuli conditions) were significant at the .01 level of confidence for the two features showing greatest increases in frequency by change in stimuli conditions—these were third person singular verb marker ($x^2 = 29.73$; df = 1) and noun plural marker ($x^2 = 13.35$; df = 1). Apparently encountering these features embedded in the tasks constructed for this study resulted in significantly greater frequencies of dialect-based oral reading responses for these specific features than under the sentence stimuli conditions.

The connected prose task had no significant influence on changes in the frequency of oral responses categorized as dialect for the other two key features studied; x^2s computed were nonsignificant for noun possessive marker ($x^2 = .01$; df = 1; $p<.05$) and past verb marker ($x^2 = 1.18$; df = 1; $p<.05$).

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

The writers emphasize the exploratory nature of this study—hence, the fact that specific inferences from these findings are limited due to the nature of the sample and the simuli conditions used. Within this context, the following comments seem appropriate.

The high frequencies of oral reading responses categorized as dialect based for the four key features studied suggest that the issue of Negro dialect in the oral reading of these pupils is a linguistic reality that should be accounted for. Unanswered is the question as to whether such differences in oral reading pronunciation indicate that these children have a somewhat different set of homonyms for certain of these linguistic features, or do such dialect-based responses suggest the possibility that concepts to be associated with the bound-morphemes being deleted are absent? While oral reading tasks, such as those utilized in this report, provide readily

obtainable responses, there is some question regarding how representative such behavior is of the central processes involved in understanding concepts and ideas symbolized in print.

In this study, the possessive noun marker appeared to be the one linguistic feature studied which elicited the highest frequency of dialect-based oral reading responses, consistently across items constituting this feature and with stability of frequency of dialect responses regardless of the stimulus conditions utilized. These findings suggest that this particular feature is of key relevance in the oral reading of these pupils.

The importance of the other three features studied also appears to be substantial. The noun plural marker and third person singular verb marker appeared as dialect-based in the oral responses of these pupils with high frequency in connected prose stimuli conditions, and there was significant consistency of dialect based responses for items constituting the third person singular feature. The frequency of responses categorized as dialect based for items constituting the past verb marker feature maintained stability with changes in stimuli conditions.

The power of psychosocial situations on language behavior is universally agreed upon. In this investigation, the connected prose stimuli condition elicited a significantly higher frequency of dialect-based responses for two of the four key features under study. Perhaps the length and flow of ideas in the passages and the attention required for such sustained oral reading unlocked sociolinguistic restraints that were more easily maintained than when the task required reading of separate sentences. The statistically significant x^2 computed for the effect of order of passage presentation on frequency of dialect responses supports this notion.

As previously discussed, children who could not read the content of these tasks are not represented in the findings of this study. While it might be that these youngsters are the individuals who most experience difficulty due to the so-called "interference-effect," such issues are only speculative in the absence of data. Future research in this area might concern itself with questions relating to the qualitative and quantitative effects on reading from such interference phe-

nomenon, as well as the types of children and teaching circumstances that might contribute to these problems.

In the meantime, schools could begin by encouraging teachers to grow in their understanding and sensitivity to the nature and importance of language in the lives of their pupils. The idealization of standard English and the denial of the existence and power of Negro dialect in the life of the disadvantaged black child, along with confusions resulting from mixing the processes of learning to read with changing children's language behavior, could be alleviated through special attention to these issues.

References

1. Ames, W. S., C. L. Rosen, and A. V. Olson. "The Effects of Nonstandard Dialect on the Oral Reading Behavior of Fourth Grade Black Children," in Carl Braun (Ed.), ***Language, Reading, and the Communication Process.*** Newark, Delaware: International Reading Association, 1971.
2. Baratz, J. C. "Teaching Reading in an Urban Negro School System," in J. Baratz and R. Shuy (Eds.), ***Teaching Black Children to Read.*** Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1969, 92-116.
3. Labov, W. "Some Sources of Reading Problems for Negro Speakers of Nonstandard English," in J. Baratz and R. Shuy (Eds.), ***Teaching Black Children to Read.*** Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1969, 29-67.
4. Shuy, R. W. "A Linguistic Background for Developing Beginning Reading Materials for Black Children," in J. Baratz and R. Shuy (Eds.), ***Teaching Black Children to Read.*** Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1969, 117-137.
5. Siegel, S. ***Nonparametric Statistics for the Behavioral Sciences.*** New York: McGraw-Hill, 1956.
6. Stewart, W. A. "On the Use of Negro Dialect in the Teaching of Reading," in J. Baratz and R. Shuy (Eds.), ***Teaching Black Children to Read.*** Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1969, 156-219.

Edith H. Grotberg
The American University

IMPLICATIONS OF SOME CURRENT ISSUES AND PRACTICES FOR THE READING TEACHER

Justification for early intervention in the learning and development of disadvantaged children derives from research both on the effects of early deprivation and on the significance of the early years for future learning and development.

KINDS OF DEPRIVATION

Regardless of whether the research represents a developmental, experiential, or interaction theoretical framework, whether it posits an environmental, genetic, or interaction causation of learning and development, the findings generally agree that deprivation is involved in the poorer academic performance of disadvantaged children. Deprivation may derive from ***malnutrition.*** The correlation between malnutrition and poor learning is well documented (***2, 9, 13***). What remains to be answered is the effect of food intervention on the learning behavior of children at different ages with different food programs. Studies addressed to these issues are in progress at Tulane University (***9***).

Deprivation may derive from ***understimulation*** or ***overstimulation.*** The effects of stimulation deprivation are especially well documented in animal studies. We have established a causative relationship in the animal studies while we have only a correlational effect in research with humans (***14***). Obviously we are not going to deprive humans of stimulation

over long periods of time to determine the causative effect on learning. Assuming a causative relationship for purposes of intervention, we still need to know what kinds of stimulation are desirable for subsequent learning and at what ages such interventions are most effective. We are speaking, of course, of stimulating the child to attend to his environment, to respond to it, and to act on it.

Deprivation may derive from ***limited language*** experiences. These limitations include contextual more than universal language, communication through gesture more than through words, and language for control rather than stimulation of children (***4, 8***). The argument that children from low income groups have a rich vocabulary and communicate well with one another is a valid one (***1***). The argument, however, does not negate the limitations identified, nor does it answer to the fact of poorer language performance in the schools as measured by achievement tests, particularly in reading. One currently recommended solution from linguists is to teach these children to read in dialect and gradually move to standard English. This solution has not been supported by research data and indeed violates the premise upon which the teaching of a second language rests. A second language is taught, according to these same linguists, by saturating the person with the second language. Obviously then, children should be saturated with standard American English in school at the exclusion of dialect. The proponents of teaching reading in dialect are concerned with racist attitudes toward black children and prejudice against children from low income families (***1, 17***). These concerns are legitimate but do not justify the professionally inconsistent stance taken by the linguists in their recommended method for teaching reading.

Deprivation may derive from ***limited social-emotional*** experiences. Children who do not receive encouragement, who do not experience continuity in human attachments, who do not build strong self-images, and who do not develop a sense of competence and importance are deprived. We may argue, and this is a valid argument, that many children, regardless of the income level of their parents are deprived in their social-emotional development. This argument ignores the fact, however, of multiple assault (***2***). Children can handle a few as-

saults on their organism, not multiple assaults. Thus, children from middle and high income families may be given maternal substitutes for affection, may be sent to camp, and most certainly will be better treated by school personnel. Racial and ethnic prejudices, as well as a continuing antipathy toward low income families in general, conspire to inflict multiple assaults on the children. Social-emotional deprivation results and continues.

Deprivation would not be so serious a matter if we had sufficient evidence that the effects of deprivation might be ameliorated at any time by adequate intervention of compensatory programs. But the evidence in nutrition, stimulation, language, and social-emotional experiences suggests that the more extended the time of the deprivation, the greater the problem of amelioration. Further, the developmental and interaction theories identify a clearly established sequence of cognitive development in which each step in the sequence must be developed and mastered before the next step emerges for its development (*3, 15*). Accepting these theories, it becomes clear that the later the compensatory intervention, the more developmental steps must be attended for full cognitive development. It is not a well-substantiated notion that there is an age and stage for specific developments and that to lose the "right" time prevents full development. The experiential theorists make a good case when they point out that with appropriate experiences almost anyone at almost any age can learn and achieve. The only limitation would be if the organism were damaged beyond correction. Any one who has worked in adult basic education programs or with high school dropouts or with junior high school underachievers knows that much desired learning can occur with youth and adults who have failed to achieve previously.

WHY EARLY INTERVENTION?

But can we defend waiting so long? Those who place great emphasis on freeing the young child from any adult restraints or demands on the assumption that the child has the knowledge and skill to develop his potential are naive about the devastating effects of deprivation, as well as about

the critical judgment skills of children. The inner city Blacks who reject this attitude as smacking of a "let them be happy but underdeveloped" attitude have a legitimate point. Those who place great emphasis on training children at increasingly earlier ages, with behavioral modification and reinforcement best exemplifying this position, are also naive. Their naivité centers around a notion that children are only a product of experience, an idea extending to a blind assumption that training is generally good and desirable. They have not studied society's compulsive, overprogramed technologists. The innercity blacks reject this view as smacking of a "let's make them what we decide" attitude. Again, they have a legitimate point.

The fact of deleterious effects of deprivation is accepted. The time or kind of compensatory or developmental intervention is different depending on the theoretical position of learning and development held. But a case may be made for early intervention with children who are the victims of deprivation. They need food; they need stimulation; they need language experiences; they need self-enhancement. The longer they go without these things the more disparate is their performance compared to others or compared to their own potentials (*7*). The price they pay as they move along in the school system and in society is only too well documented (*5*).

KINDS OF EARLY INTERVENTION

Intervention may take many forms and is to some extent dependent on the observed deprivation or assumed deficit. No one denies the fact, for example, that starving children cannot learn. What was denied was the evidence that some children in America are, indeed, starving or so poorly nourished as to be damaged in every aspect of their growth. It took a series of exposés and a White House Conference on Food and Nutrition in December 1969, to focus on the problem, which lead to the provision of food stamps as one solution. Beyond unanimity on this solution there are different ideas of how to make up for other deprivations. Some suggest housing as the critical intervention. The argument states that

if families from impoverished areas could live in better houses in better communities, they and their children would benefit by the better environment and the deprivations would be neutralized. Others support the idea of income maintenance. The argument here is that if families had a guaranteed income, they would eliminate the cause of deprivation—i.e., poverty—and would no longer be vulnerable to the effects of deprivation. We do not know if either of these or both of these in conjunction will compensate for deprivation. Many millions of dollars are now being spent to test these ideas.

Housing and income maintenance reach the families and are indirect ways of affecting children who have been deprived. Head Start, by contrast, opted for child-centered comprehensive programs with parent involvement. Underlying Head Start are two assumptions: 1) children must be provided directly with health, nutrition, education, and social and community services if the effects of deprivation are to be halted and 2) parents must be involved to maximum feasible participation in programs affecting their children if the thrust toward improved child development is to be sustained. This involvement takes the form of membership on parent advisory councils, volunteer services, or staff memberships. Parents may be trained to help their children at home and may participate in determining the contents of a Head Start program as well as in staff selection.

What all of these early intervention programs and approaches have in common is the recognition that the child's performance in school is the result of much more than limited preschool reading readiness and early school learning experiences. The programs differ on where and how to intervene.

Two new programs, however, are assuming that the poorer achievement of deprived children, particularly in reading, is primarily the result of poor teaching. ***Performance contracting*** and ***voucher education*** are both operating on the same assumption but differ in method. Performance contracting consists of a school system contracting with a firm for a guaranteed product, e.g., increases in reading scores. The companies receive money on basis of the size of the increases. Vouchers, by contract, are to be used by parents to

shop around for a school they feel will do the best job in teaching their children to read and generally learn. The parents take the voucher to the school selected, and the school collects against the voucher from educational funds of the authorizing body. The assumption is that releasing competitive forces and providing profit incentives will force the schools to provide better education or will find new ways to guarantee results.

EFFECTIVENESS OF EARLY INTERVENTION PROGRAMS

We have no evidence yet about the effectiveness of early intervention on reading achievement in so far as the intervention is primarily housing, income maintenance, or vouchers. The Tex-Arkana performance contracting study, funded by the office of education, DHEW, is still undergoing challenges to the validity of test scores obtained by alleged "teaching to the test." We do have evidence about the effectiveness of early intervention programs in the school or program center and early intervention programs involving parents in the home or both in the home and at the program center. We need to describe the major characteristics of these programs and assess them in terms of immediate effects and long range effects on reading achievement.

Characteristics Common to Effective Programs

Almost any kind of early intervention program is better than none in terms of immediate effects. Evaluations of the impact of Head Start repeatedly showed positive effects of the Head Start experience in terms of increased scores on indices of cognitive and social-emotional development. While more impressive results are obtained by special programs, these greater results occur in each special program and are not peculiar to any particular one. Weikart (*18*), in his comparative study of four "good" programs, found that the critical factor was how teachers used these good programs, not which program was used. The outstanding programs have a number of characteristics in common which may account for their rather uniform effectiveness. These characteristics follow:

1. ***Clearly stated objectives.*** The objectives are stated within a theoretical framework whether it be developmental, experiential, or interaction. They include objectives for cognition, language, and social-emotional development. Some include health and nutrition objectives. All objectives, however, are clearly stated.
2. ***Curricula consistent with objectives.*** The different curricula reflect the theoretical postures and are generally on a recognizable sequence of activities leading toward the attainment of the objectives.
3. ***High professional/paraprofessional ratio.*** The outstanding programs generally have the designer and his collaborators working directly with the children and/or with the paraprofessionals. There is usually an overloading of professionals, but this factor seems to contribute to the effectiveness of the program.
4. ***Individual instruction and attention.*** Greater stress is placed on individual instruction than on group instruction. When used, groups are small in size. Children are individually motivated and rewarded or individually encouraged to explore for learning, depending upon the theory of child development and learning being used. High adult/child ratios consistently occur.
5. ***Parent involvement.*** Parents may be involved by separate meetings where they discuss child development or indeed their own problems. Parents may be involved as paraprofessionals, volunteers, members of advisory councils, or participants through home training programs. Their involvement is critical, but the amount and form vary from program to program.

It is not clear which of these factors is most critical—is carrying the major load—for the success of the programs. Very likely they combine in some way to assure an effective program. We do have research on the impact of individualized instruction (***16***) and the significance of parent involvement (***12***). We also know the importance of training of professionals and paraprofessionals, but what kind and how much training are not clear.

Exemplary Early Intervention Programs

Three programs are selected from among the best developed preschool programs containing the identified characteristics. A brief description of each will disclose the variation of program while reflecting the major characteristics of all outstanding programs.

Demonstration and Research Center for Early Education (DARCEE). This program began in 1961 in Nashville, Tennessee, under the direction of Susan Gray. It consisted of having young children three and four years old attend a summer enrichment program designed to develop their cognitions, language skills, motivations, and self-images. During the winter months a home visitor retained contact with the mothers to discuss anything pertinent to the child or the family. The children who were part of this program performed better when they entered public school than did nonattenders, but their advantage gradually disappeared over the years. One outstanding factor, however, was the diffusion effect on siblings of the children in the program. They showed higher performance than siblings of children not in the program.

Institute for Developmental Studies (IDS). This program began in 1962 in New York under the direction of Martin Deutsch. It is the most extensive program in terms of years of possible involvement. A child may enter at the age of three and remain through third grade. The children generally move from low performance to average and above performance during the first year and remain at that higher level for the entire time in the program. The program is an enrichment one which modifies and develops materials to fit the needs of the children. The teaching is largely diagnostic. No follow-up data are yet available to know what happens when the children leave the program.

Learning to Learn. This program is under the direction of Herbert Sprigle in Jacksonville, Florida. The program is built on a developmental sequence of growth and learning, including perceptual, language, and cognitive skills, and attention to social-emotional development. Follow-up studies have revealed that children who remain in the program for two years perform better than those in the program for one year, but

most differences are washed out after a year or two out of the program. One interesting sidelight is that the apparent washout effect may more accurately be the improved learning of nonprogram children as a result of interaction with the program children.

Long Range Impact of Early Intervention Programs

One of the persistent problems concerns the long-range impact of programs. An early warning came six months after Head Start ended its first summer when a report showed quite clearly that most children were not maintaining the gains which resulted from the summer 1965 Head Start experience. Such a short exposure to a special program was a possible explanation. But when looking at the outstanding programs described, there is no clear evidence that once the children leave these programs, they maintain the rate of growth. What evidence is available presents quite the opposite picture. Children lose, gradually to be sure, their advantages from an outstanding program after they leave it. A number of reasons are offered for this phenomenon, and some policy decisions have been made on basis of various explanations.

One reason given for the discontinuance of higher performance after leaving the outstanding program is the poor quality of the school program into which the child goes. To provide a continuity of good program, Follow Through was launched. Follow Through, provides special programs for disadvantaged children from kindergarten through grade three. These programs began in 1967, and by 1969 the Planned Variation program took the Follow Through programs down to the three- and four-year-old level so that children could stay in the same program for up to five years. The Planned Variation study is assessing the effects of switching children from program to program and comparing that pattern to one in which children remain in the same program continuously. No results are yet available on the effectiveness either of Follow Through or Planned Variation. Evaluation reports of Follow Through are probably overdue.

Another reason given for the decrease in performance after leaving a special program is the suggestion we are focusing on the wrong things. We are teaching skills—reading,

math—rather than developing intelligence. Intelligence, it is argued, usually predicts reading ability; however, it does not follow as a correlative that reading ability predicts intelligence (*11*). Yet, too often we teach children reading skills which result initially in higher scores both on reading and on intelligence tests. The increases, particularly in intelligence, are washed out once the child leaves the special program. We have apparently confused the teaching of skills with the stimulation of intellectual growth; and, in the final analysis, it is the latter which is critical. Are there other ways to stimulate intelligence more directly? Kohlberg suggests we study Piaget for some basic guidelines.

A third reason given for the loss of growth rate when leaving even a good program is that the intervention is too late to have a permanent effect. Intervention, it is argued, must begin at infancy if the more or less permanently damaging effects of an impoverished environment are to be prevented or minimized. The deprivation studies again are used as supportive evidence of the effects of early lacks in nutrition, stimulation, language, and social-emotional experiences (*14*). While reading obviously cannot be taught to infants nor elicited in any way, a major precursor to reading—i.e., language—may be engaged in very early to enhance the future reading behavior of children. Hess (*8*) provides highly important information concerning the significance of the language used in the home of the young child in structuring the thought processes of the child. The effects of these home experiences are seen in the later school achievement behavior of the children.

PARENT INVOLVEMENT IN VERY EARLY INTERVENTION

But if, as Kohlberg suggests, the issue is more one of attending directly to the intellectual functioning of children than to teaching skills, such as reading, the appropriateness of very early intervention seems apparent. Assuming that stimulation of intellectual functioning is basic to eventual reading performance and the acquisition of reading skills, what do studies tell us about the success of such very early intervention? We are selecting two studies because both have achieved

measurable results and both involve parents. This last criterion for selection rests on the assumption that most children are at home during the first few years of life and that parents are necessary adjuncts to the very early development of their children.

Parents as Tutors

Karnes (*10*) reports impressive results in an infant tutorial program at the University of Illinois in which parents from impoverished families were trained to promote the intellectual development of their young children. The Mothers' Training Program began in 1967 with 20 mothers and their children, ranging in age from 12 months to three years. Each mother with her child generally remains in the program for two years.

The mothers meet on a regular basis as a group and learn the stimulation skills necessary to teach their children at home. During the weekly meetings the mothers were provided a sequential educational program to use at home in stimulating the cognitive and verbal developments of their children and were instructed in principles of teaching which emphasized positive reinforcement. At home mothers set aside a regular time for daily stimulation sessions with the child, during which time the child's curiosity and growth were stimulated by the use of various materials and toys. These included nested cans and boxes, snap and string beads, graduated rings, a formbox, and masonite shapes in various colors and sizes. In addition, art materials, inexpensive books, wooden inlay puzzles, simple lotto games, toys for instructured play, and toys to demonstrate transfer of learning—a stack tower and interlocking cubes—were used. Making picture scrapbooks and "reading" them together proved a successful activity. As each new technique was introduced by the leader, new words were provided for the mother to use with her child and encourage the child to use.

Staff members made home visits at least once a month to check on the progress of the mother and child and to help solve any problems. The results are impressive. When comparing the children in the program with control children matched on race, sex, age, and demographic information, the

experiental group made significant gains on both the Stanford Binet IQ and the Illinois Test of Psycholinguistic Abilities.

Parents as Child Stimulators

The second program described is that of Gordon at the Institute for Development of Human Resources at the University of Florida. His project concerns early child stimulation through parent education. The stimulation exercises are described and interpreted by him (*6*) as follows:

> The Stimulation Exercises (Series Materials) were originally developed in 1966-1967 and modified slightly on the basis of the first year's experience. They were designed to be concrete and specific and to include not only a "task" for the infant to do but also instructions to the mother as to ways to engage her child in the activity. Basically, the series materials reflected our attempts to engineer knowledge about the sensory-motor period contained in the work of Jean Piaget. We developed items that would relate to object permanence, eventual conservation of liquids and mass, the organization of body schema.
>
> Our belief was that the provision of experiences which require adaptation through accommodation will lead to modification of development and greater cognitive organization than what might be expected from purely "natural" or "spontaneous" growing-up in a culturally-deprived environment. The development of intellectual structure and self-esteem are functions of organism-environment transaction. Manipulation of the environment offers a way to modify development. Therefore, we selected or devised exercises which we assumed went beyond the evaluation of status and involved the introduction of instruction and experience.
>
> We included only those tasks we deemed simplest to carry out and evaluate. We eliminated those requiring a sophisticated observer to assess accurately infant responses to the stimuli because neither our Parent Educators nor the mothers would be able to determine "success." In addition, we selected only such tasks in which either no material objects were necessary or where such objects could be found in culturally disadvantaged home, easily made or procured.
>
> Because our position is that the most significant setting for infant learning is one in which there is a positive emotional climate, we attempted to include in the instructions to the mother the importance of treating these tasks as games and fun, thereby helping the child to develop positive feelings toward his mother and toward doing the tasks.

> Our assumption was that a systematic Piagetian sequential arrangement of tasks presented in an orderly fashion would lead to cognitive growth along with personal feelings of adequacy. However, the instructions to Parent Educators were that they were not to present the tasks within a series but were to take into account the individual performance of the infant: there were no set rules that task IV:3 must follow IV:2. Generally, tasks within a particular series were completed before the next series was introduced. The pattern was to present the child with a series, find out what he could do, and make this task the entry point for the other items in the series. When he was successful in these tasks, in the judgment of the mother and the Parent Educator, the next series was then introduced. In this way the mother and the Parent Educator jointly determined the rate of progress of the child and the particular sequence which he followed.
>
> Further, from our review of the work of language researchers, we included labeling and action words designed to increase the number and type of words used by the mother with the child. The verbal stimulation materials involve a change in speaking habits of the mother. We felt that verbal stimulation would be an important phase of improving the mother-child transaction.
>
> We included instructions to call the baby by name and to describe objects because it is in the area of descriptive adjectives and abstract terms that vocabularies are likely to be inferior. To some degree, the verbal elements in these series were the most crucial in our thinking. We felt that the use of verbal cues accompanying other tasks would play a vital role in language development.

The results are impressive as measured by gains on the Griffiths Mental Development Scales, but Gordon points out at least three problems still facing researchers in this area. These problems are part of the empirical and theoretical gap between the generalization and the systematic implementation of procedures to foster development: 1) the timing and amount of intervention are unknown quantities, 2) neither the nature of the experiences which serve to stimulate development nor their sequences are fully understood, and 3) the interplay of family climate and task is not clear (***6***). An additional problem which well might be included is the long-range impact of various programs begun at various times. We need to place more importance on longitudinal studies which are best able to get at this long range impact problem.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Briefly, then, we have said that children who experienced deprivations do respond to early intervention and do perform better on reading achievement tests than children not in programs. We even know what some of the critical elements of good intervention programs are. But we do not know how long a child must stay in a program nor how early an age he must enter to bring about permanent improvements. We have some idea that improving intellectual functioning through very early intervention, especially involving the mother, may be an important path to pursue since the mother is a critical change-agent as the family attempts to compensate for deprivation and move out of poverty. Educators in general and schools in particular are not yet geared to work with parents as partners in the education of children and continue to resist their involvements. The parent involvement found in Head Start and Follow Through was legislated. The recent regulation for parent involvement in Title I programs was not received with enthusiasm by school systems. This lack of coordinated efforts between parents and educators raises the issue of how to train teachers and parents to cooperate in efforts to educate young children both at preschool and early school levels. An even more pervasive issue needs attention: How is the entire community involved in eliminating various kinds of deprivation and providing necessary compensating services? A child does not learn to read in a vacuum. He is part of a family, a community, and a nation. He learns to read within the provisions for development and learning made available by these parts of his environment. What is needed from the various parts of the environment to initiate and sustain reading achievement? An examination of the kinds of deprivation identified earlier will suggest what institution or group can help, but more important would be a cooperative community effort to deal with the child's environment so that it would enhance his development and learning behavior.

References and Notes

1. Baratz, Stephen S., and Joan C. Baratz. "Early Childhood Intervention: The Social Science Base of Institutional Racism," ***Harvard Educational Review***, 40 (1970), 29-50.
2. Birch, Herbert. "Malnutrition and Early Development," in Edith H. Grotberg (Ed.), ***Day Care: Resources for Decisions***. Government Printing Office.
3. Bruner, Jerome S., et al. ***Studies in Cognitive Growth***. New York: John Wiley 1966.
4. Cazden, Courtney, et al. "Language Development in Day Care Programs," in Edith H. Grotberg (Ed.), ***Day Care: Resources for Decisions***. Government Printing Office.
5. Coleman, James S., et al. ***Equality of Educational Opportunity***. Office of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.
6. Gordon, Ira. "Early Childhood Stimulation Through Parent Education," report presented at the American Psychological Association Convention, Washington, D.C., 1969.
7. Grotberg, Edith H. "Learning Disabilities Among Disadvantaged Children," ***Review of Educational Research***, 35 (December 1965), 413-425.
8. Hess, Robert D., et al. "Parent Involvement in Early Education, in Edith H. Grotberg (Ed.), ***Day Care: Resources for Decisions***. Government Printing Office.
9. Jones, Shuell H. ***Annual Report***, Office of Economic Opportunity Grant CG-9937, Office of Planning, Research, and Evaluation, 1970.
10. Karnes, Merle, et al. "Educational Intervention at Home by Mothers of Disadvantaged Infants," ***Child Development***, December 1970, 68-72.
11. Kohlberg, Lawrence, and Rochelle S. Mayer. "Preschool Research and Preschool Educational Objectives: A Critique and a Proposal," in Edith H. Grotberg (Ed.), ***Designs and Proposals for Early Childhood Research***. Government Printing Office.
12. Leler, Hazel. "Research On a Community Initiated Self-Determining Preschool Program, 1968" in Edith H. Grotberg ***Review of Research 1965 to 1969***. Project Head Start, 1969.
13. Munro, Nancy. "The Relationship Between Hemoglobin Level and Function," in Edith H. Grotberg, ***Review of Research 1965 to 1969***. Project Head Start, 1969.
14. ***Perspectives on Human Deprivation: Biological, Psychological, and Sociological***. U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1968.
15. Piaget, Jean. ***The Psychology of Intelligence***. London: Routledge, Kegan, 1947.
16. ***Report on the Third Year of Title I, Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965***. U.S. Office of Education, Department of

Health, Education, and Welfare, OE-37021-68, 1969.
17. Stewart, William A. "The Unacknowledged Role of Culture Conflict in Negro Education," in Edith H. Grotberg (Ed.), ***Designs and Proposals for Early Childhood Research: A New Look***. Government Printing Office.
18. Weikart, David P. ***Preliminary Results from a Longitudinal Study of Disadvantaged Preschool Children***. ED-030-490.

Joseph B. Tremonti
Kankakee State Hospital

THE TRAINING OF READING TEACHERS FOR THE DISADVANTAGED

There is an educational lag in communication skills of disadvantaged children which is reinforced by teachers having little understanding of the unique problems in communication skills among those children and the lack of depth training among teachers in methods to remedy this situation.

In 1950, one child out of every ten in America's fourteen largest cities was "culturally deprived." By 1960 the figure was one out of three. It is estimated that this year one out of two children will be culturally deprived.

Reading is the basic tool of learning. It is the means by which differentiating instruction must begin. The disadvantaged child may relate to his reality through reading. Reading is the tool for inducting the child into his culture most economically and basically.

To improve the reading instruction of these disadvantaged youth who had learning problems and who adjusted poorly because of communication background and inability to read, Loyola University of New Orleans conducted an EPDA experienced teachers fellowship program in reading instruction for elementary and secondary high school teachers.

OBJECTIVES

The specific objectives of the program were to

1. provide a substantial background in communication skills to enable the participants to serve as teacher-consultants in their school systems;
2. provide its instructional program with the kinds of experiences, in appropriate sequence, which enable teachers to develop deep understanding of the psychoeducational dynamics of the reading process for disadvantaged children;
3. provide understanding of the communication problems among disadvantaged children and also provide practical experience in a supervised diagnostic and remedial situation with disadvantaged children who have reading problems;
4. program professional readings that will concretize learning from the formalized part of the program, provide professional visits to different settings that will give dimension and meaning to concepts developed in the formalized program, provide opportunities for participants to listen and react to authorities in the field of reading on pertinent problems, and provide for an evaluation of these activities by the participants and staff; and
5. provide guidance and supervision on an individual basis to the participants so that they will be able to evaluate their own professional growth and also discuss particular communication problems with staff members.

STAFF

The organizational structure consisted of the utilization of interdepartmental and cross-disciplinary structures of learning involving psychology, sociology, economics, communications, reading, and computer sciences. The staff representing these disciplines had varying backgrounds which had an effective influence on the program. The effectiveness was further implemented by using consultants, which, along with the block structure and team-teaching approach, made for an enriched learning experience.

SCHEDULE

During the first week of the program a diagnostic survey of the fellows was made to ascertain their knowledge of read-

ing. In view of the various backgrounds, diverse experiences, and limited knowledge of reading and related disciplines for the disadvantaged, the staff deemed it best not to have the participants in the schools at the outset. The first two months of the program were devoted strictly to supplying the fellows with necessary background information.

During the second month of the program, part of the instruction consisted of videotaping the complete diagnostic procedures for problem readers. A second grade boy and sixth grade girl were used for this purpose. The fellows observed the videotaping on monitors and through two-way windows. The videotaping was discussed and replayed in subsequent seminar sessions. We believe that witnessing this operation first hand had much merit. Later on the fellows were observed by staff members while diagnosing initial cases.

Beginning in November and continuing for the balance of the semester, two mornings a week were spent in the schools observing, doing diagnostic testing, and beginning remedial instruction with one child. During the second semester, two full days were spent in the schools doing diagnostic and remedial work on a one-to-one basis with two students, one hour each, and with small groups during the remainder of the day.

In April the fellows spent four days each week, Monday through Thursday, in the schools. During this time the director and reading staff visited each one of them. On Friday of each week they returned to the campus for seminars and other forms of instructions.

About one-half of May was spent diagnosing and screening individual students with reading problems for the summer internship program, either in the school or at the university.

TECHNIQUES

A variety of new techniques, materials, and equipment were used. Four reading programs or series were involved: The Macmillan Reading Program by Harris and Clark, the Sullivan Associates Programed Reading, the Open Court Reading Program, and the Open Highway Series.

Also used was individualized reading from Scholastic

Book Services. This material provided for individual differences with exercises varying in rate and style of learning. It included the children's involvement in their own learning activities, development of positive self-concepts, opportunity for inquiry, and an awareness of the purpose behind learning activities.

To meet some of the individual needs of each student that could not be met by using the four basic series and Individualized Reading from Scholastic, the following materials were utilized.

1. Special Reading Approaches
   VAKT Technique, Individualized Reading, and Language Experience were used to enable students to learn by other methods than usual classroom procedures, especially adapted to the nonachieving disadvantaged child.
2. Word Analysis and Sight Vocabulary
   Used to enable pupils to increase proficiency in areas in which disabilities exist and to provide teachers with a wide variety of materials on different levels of difficulty and utilizing different approaches to learning were:
   Phonics We Use (Lippincott)
   Phonics Skilltext (Merrill)
   Dolch Word Games (Garrard)
   Listen and Learn with Games (Interstate)
   Reading and Spelling Games (Lippincott)
   Language Master (Bell and Howell)
   Spelling Series (Laidlaw)
   Macmillan Spectrum (Macmillan)
   Phonics in a Nutshell (Eden)
3. Comprehension
   To enable disadvantaged pupils who lack proficiency in understanding the opportunity to increase their comprehension using varied techniques and levels of achievement, the following were helpful:
   Read-Study-Think (Weekly Reader)
   Reading for Understanding (SRA)
   Listen and Think Series (EDL)
   Reading for Meaning (Lippincott)
   Readers Digest Skill Test (Readers Digest)
   McCall Crabbs Test Lesson (Columbia)

Building Reader Power (Merrill)
Controlled Reader (EDL)
Macmillan Spectrum (Macmillan)

4. Multipurpose Skills Material
   Used to supplement the previously listed materials by providing additional materials on a variety of skills and providing for specific areas not covered by other materials were:
   Diagnostic Reading Workbooks (Merrill)
   Building Reading Power Lab (Merrill)
   Reading Laboratories (SRA)
   Specific Skill Series (Barnell Loft)
   Spectrum of Reading Skills (Macmillan)
   Controlled Reader Films (EDL)
   Mott Basic Language Program (Mott)
   Distar (SRA)
   RSVP (Anser)
5. High Interest-Low Readability Material
   Providing challenging material to motivate reluctant readers to develop the desire to read for pleasure were the following:
   Morgan Bay Mystery (Harry Wagner)
   Americans All Series (Field Education)
   Kaleidoscope (Field Education)
   Dan Frontier (Benefic Press)
   Action Series (Scholastic)

EVALUATION

The following techniques were used to evaluate the effectiveness of the fellowship program.

Faculty

Evaluation was a continuous process by the program faculty who had regular informal meetings with the director to discuss and evaluate the program. Weekly summaries of material covered were submitted by the faculty to determine if the specific objectives of the program were realized. The director and his designated representative visited the participants while they were working in the schools. These visits

consisted of observation of the participants while teaching, followed by private conferences. Meetings were held with the fellows and the three staff members who were responsible for the bulk of the reading instructions. These meetings were held on the average of every three weeks to carry out a continuous evaluation of the program. Fellows were continually asked to submit comments and specific questions concerning topics which they wished to be included in the program.

School Supervisors of Participants

A questionnaire was sent to the school supervisors of each participant near the end of the academic year to evaluate the effectiveness of each fellow's performance, to solicit in what respect the fellowship program was commendable, and to seek recommendations for improvement. Analysis of the responses of the 20 school supervisors' progress reports of the fellowship program shows that an excellent rating was given to 8 of the thirteen items by 80 to 95 percent of the supervisors.

Participants

The participants evaluated the consultants, lecturers, and seminars by the use of a rating form. Seventy-nine percent of the items listed in the rating form were rated highest by 45 to 70 percent of the participants. The consensus was that it was an enlightening and enriching experience. Help was given when and at the time it was needed. Staff members were always available for consultation and assistance in suggesting, selecting, and evaluating materials and shared freely and readily their experience and know how in teaching reading. Their understanding and constructive criticism assisted in helping the children and added to the personal knowledge of the participants. The seminar sessions provided valuable opportunities for evaluation of new materials and techniques and for presenting and discussing actual case studies. We were able to seek and give help to one another and also make discoveries about our own situations.

CONCLUSION

The fellowship program with its special emphasis on reading instruction was effective in acquainting staff members from other disciplines with the problems of the disadvantaged. In the future it is expected that participants will include more references to these problems in their regular classroom instruction.

The program has also been effective in generating an interest in the surrounding parishes in the problems of the disadvantaged. Much of this interest was generated by the close cooperation between the director, the fellows, and the parish schools. The participants, from those who had had no previous experience of training in reading to those who were competent and had excellent backgrounds, all achieved a new insight into materials and methods of instruction and the importance of and knowledge of techniques for locating and treating specific problems. Even more important was the change in attitude toward the disadvantaged. The attitude of not understanding the problems and isolation from the problems changed to one of understanding, a desire to help, and the ability to provide needed remediation.